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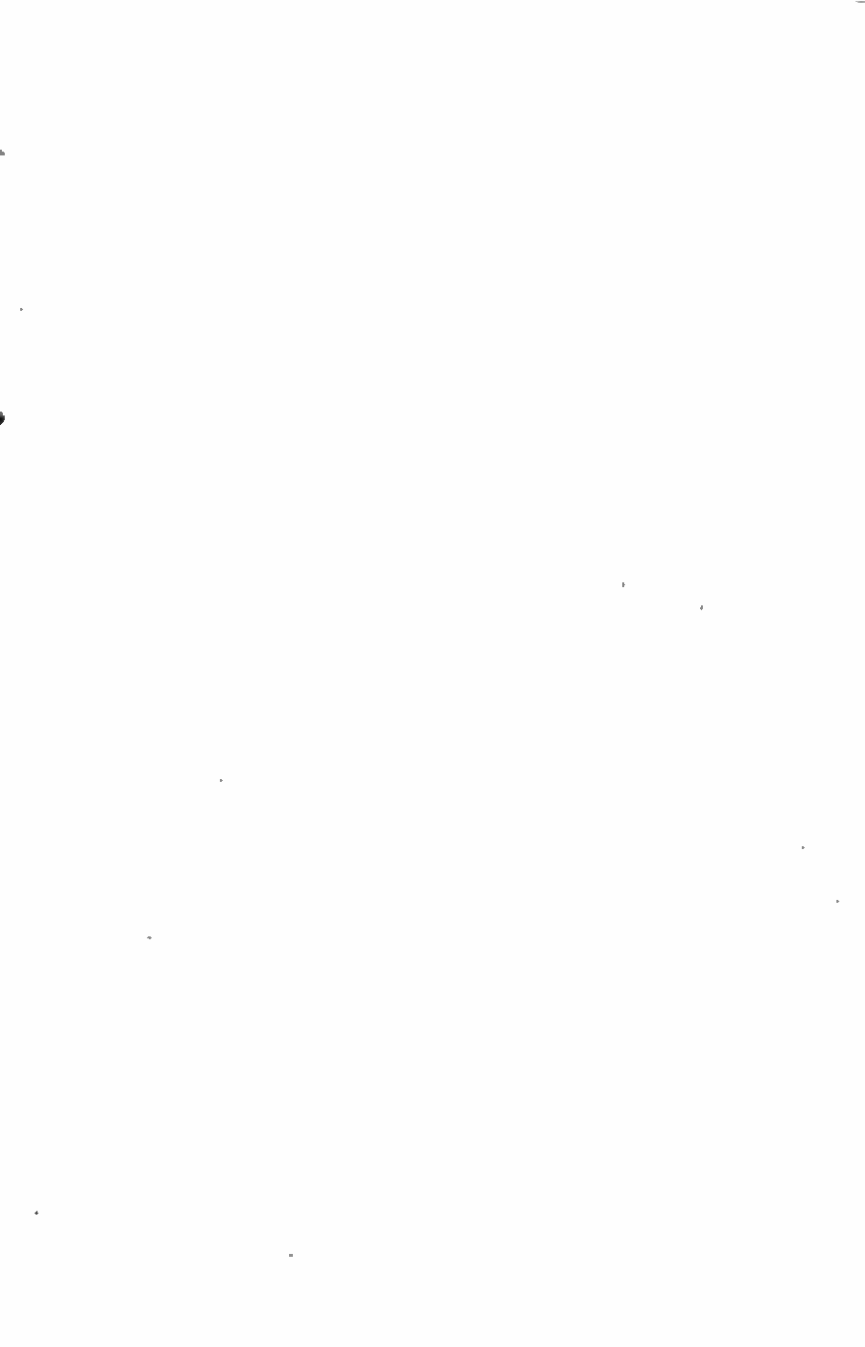
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**INDIAN MISSIONARIES IN THE LAND OF GOLD**



HISTORICAL RESEARCH SERIES No. 22

# INDIAN MISSIONARIES IN THE LAND OF GOLD

BY

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KASHI PRASAD JAYASWAL RESEARCH  
INSTITUTE, PATNA



Historical Research Series No. 22

*Published under the Patronage of  
the Government of the State of Bihar*

## INDIAN MISSIONARIES IN THE LAND OF GOLD

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KASHI PRASAD JAYASWAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
PATNA

1986



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Professor P. N. OJHA

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K. P. JAYASWAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, PATNA—800 001

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वलाच्यः स एव गुणवान् रागद्वेषवह्निमुक्ता ।

भूतार्थकथने यस्य स्वयस्यैव सरस्वती ॥

राजतरंगिणी १-७

‘He alone is a worthy and commendable historian,  
whose narrative of events in the past, like that of a  
judge, is free from passion, prejudice and partiality’

—Kāhāṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 1-7

FIRST EDITION : 1986

PRICE : Rs. 56.00

3-10-88  
294 0959 / Ojh

*Printed at*

TARA PRINTING WORKS

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## GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF BIHAR



1. The Government of Bihar established the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute at Patna in 1950 with the object *inter alia*, to promote historical research, archaeological excavation and investigations and publication of works of permanent value to scholars. The Institute along with the five others was planned by the Government as a token of their homage to the tradition of learning and scholarship for which ancient Bihar was noted. Apart from the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, five others have been established to give incentive to research and advancement of knowledge—the Nalanda Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Pali and Buddhist Learning at Nalanda, the Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning at Darbhanga, the Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad for advanced Studies and Research in Hindi at Patna, the Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Jainism and Prakrit Learning at Vaishali and the Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Arabic and Persian Learning at Patna.

2. As a part of this programme of rehabilitating and reorienting ancient learning and scholarship, the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute has undertaken the editing and publication of the Tibetan Sanskrit Text Series with the co-operation of scholars in Bihar and outside. Another series of Historical Research Works for elucidating the history and culture of Bihar and India has also been started by the Institute. The Government of Bihar hope to continue to sponsor such projects and trust that this humble service to the world of scholarship and learning would bear fruit in the fulness of time.



## GENERAL EDITOR'S NOTE

The K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute has great pleasure in bringing out the present volume entitled 'Indian Missionaries in the Land of Gold' by Professor Upendra Thakur which deals with the Brāhmaṇa and Buddhist missionaries who went to various countries of South-East Asia to propagate their religion and culture, a memorable fact of human history which eloquently speaks of the realisation by races of their affinity of minds, their mutual obligation of a common humanity. Such a rare event did happen and the path was built up between the Indians and the people of South-East and East Asia in an age when physical obstruction needed heroic personality to overcome it and the mental barrier a moral power of uncommon magnitude. It reminds us of the great pilgrimage of those noble heroes who for the sake of their faith, their ideal of the liberation of self that leads to the perfect love which unites all beings, risked life and accepted banishment from home and all that was familiar to them. Many perished and left no trace behind. A few were spared to tell their story : a story not of adventurers and trespassers whose heroism has proved a more romantic excuse for career of unchecked bringandage, but a story of pilgrims who came to offer their gifts of love and wisdom, a story indelibly recorded in the cultural memory of their hosts.

This wonderful story of love and fortitude has been very succinctly narrated for the first time in the present monograph by Professor Thakur who is internationally known in his field of study. He visited countries of South-East and East Asia many times to collect first hand information bearing on this monograph, throwing a new light on this hitherto unknown and obscure topic. The Institute is highly grateful to professor Thakur for having acceded to its request, and I have no doubt that this painstaking and scholarly publication of the Institute will receive high appreciation from learned historians and Indologists of India and abroad.

Patna,  
26 January, 1987

P. N. Ojha



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## PREFACE

The present monograph contains an account of the Indian missionaries, both Brāhmaṇa and Buddhist, who crossed the frontiers of India to propagate their religions in various countries, particularly Suvarṇabhūmi (the Land of Gold), now known as South-East Asia.

It is an undoubted fact of history that Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism found their way into South-East Asia from India. Since then ages have elapsed and the almost insurmountable physical barriers which separated India and those countries, and the want of intercourse and sympathy between these strange peoples and the Indians tended, in the course of time, to obliterate the traces of the onward march of these religions from this country. Nevertheless, the connecting link, missing to all appearance, existed and does exist even now in the form of innumerable monuments, monasteries, temples, sculptures and painting as well as hundreds of epigraphic records found all over South-East Asia which speak eloquently of the erstwhile glorious role of those religions moulding the culture in those countries. Moreover, the travels of Fa-hian, Hiuen-Tsang, I-tsing and others in India in the 5th-7th centuries A. D. also throw some light on the topic. But, all told, the fact remains that the labours of the Indian missionaries in the propagation of these religions in South-East Asia, have been hitherto buried in oblivion and it has been my earnest endeavour to unearth them.

The present monograph is simply an outline and it is hoped that the information brought to light will induce the researchers to pursue their researches and increase our knowledge in this field.

I take this opportunity to express my gratefulness to the authorities of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, and particularly to its present Director, Professor P. N. Ojha, Director of Public Instruction (Higher Education), Government of Bihar, Patna for the honour they have done me by publishing this book. I find no adequate words to express my gratitude to Professor Ojha for the efforts he has made to get this monograph published so soon.

Thanks are also due to my friends and colleagues, particularly to Dr. S. K. Maitry of the Jadavpur University, Dr. Md. Aquique of the Magadh University, Dr. Vijay Kumar Thakur of the Patna University and Sri Gopi Raman Chaudhary, Registrar, Bihar Research Society,



Patna for their constant encouragement and help in the preparation of this monograph. I also take this opportunity to thank my former student, Dr. Promsak Jermsawatdi, now Associate Professor in the Department of History, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok (Thailand) for having helped me with his valuable suggestions from time to time. Dr. R. S. Singh, Department of Buddhist studies, Magadh University also deserves my thanks for preparing the index and, finally the proprietors of the Tara Prioting Works, Varanasi deserve my thanks for their unfailing co-operation in the publication of this volume.

I crave indulgence of learned scholars for any error of fact or judgement that may have crept up in the present monograph.

Upendra Thakur

12.10.86

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>An.Rep. Arch. Burma</i>	: Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of Burma.
<i>BEFEO</i>	: Bulletin de L' Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient.
<i>BSEI</i>	: Bulletin de La Societe' Etudes Indochinoises.
<i>EI</i>	: Epigraphia Indica.
<i>IA</i>	: Indian Antiquary.
<i>IC</i>	: Inscription du Cambodge.
<i>JAOS</i>	: Journal of the American Oriental Society.
<i>JA</i>	: Journal Asiatique.
<i>JBORS</i>	: Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
<i>JRAS</i>	: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.



# I

## INTRODUCTION



As is well known, the prospect of acquiring wealth tempted the Indian traders and merchants to explore unknown territories beyond their frontiers. The lands and islands beyond the sea and the hills on the east were reputed to possess fabulous quantities of gold and precious minerals and were called by them *Suvarṇabhūmi* or *Suvarṇadvīpa* ("The Land of Gold"). The spices of the east were as great an attraction then as they proved to be fifteen centuries later.

The migrations of the Indians on a large scale to the countries beyond the sea and colonization of this region are echoed in many legends and stories, current in India as well as in the Indianised states. Though these legends cannot be regarded as history, nevertheless they throw interesting light on the objects and motives of the early Indianised states or the new settlers, the routes followed by them and the perils and hardships encountered by them both in land and sea-routes.

The impact of the Indian establishments in South-East Asia which developed under the influence of the Indian trading activities was greatly intensified during the first three centuries of the christian era. The early settlements of traders gradually developed in wealth and cohesion until the fourth-fifth centuries and they formed separate areas of Indian rule and centres of Indian culture, religious and artistic activities.

A study of the literary sources, Chinese accounts and archaeological evidences found in the course of excavations conducted at the various sites in South-East Asian countries establishes beyond doubt that the Indian merchants followed by the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇa missionaries, adventurous Kṣatriya princes and enterprising emigrants sailed from India and settled down in the main land and islands of Suvarṇabhūmi<sup>1</sup>, or broadly speaking, the present South-East Asia comprising Burma, Vietnam (Campā), Cambodia (Kamhuja deśa), Thailand (Siam), Laos and Malay Archipelago (Java, Sumātrā, Bali and Bornea, now parts of Indonesia). They introduced Indian customs, manners, religions and philosophy, literature (Sanskrit and Pali), fine arts and polity. While the first phase of Indianisation was effected mainly due to the activities of the Indian merchants and traders, the later phases were dominated by the religious missionaries mainly Brāhmaṇa and Buddhist—who played a very significant part in the diffusion of this new culture in those countries from 4th century A. D. to the fall of the Majapahita empire in Java in the 15th century A. D.

If culture means, as suggested by the eminent anthropologist, Carlton Coon, "the sum-total of things people do as a result of having been so taught"<sup>2</sup> it would be no exaggeration to say that all the higher forms of culture in South-East Asia stemmed from these two religions—particularly Buddhism and its teachings.<sup>3</sup> While the Buddhist tradition in most countries is now centuries-old, the Brāhmaṇical tradition is also equally dominant in some of the islands such as Bali, Java and Sumātrā, though they now form parts of Indonesia, a predominantly Muslim country. These two distinct religious traditions live in these countries

1. For a detailed discussion regarding the identification of Suvarṇabhūmi or Suvarṇadvīpa, see Promsak Jermsawatdi, *Thai Art*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 16 ff.
2. Carlton S. Coon, *The History of Man*, London, 1958, p. 3.
3. S. Dutt, *Buddhism in East Asia*, New Delhi, 1966, p. 11.

today side by side with urges, more or less pronounced, for modern progress. That tradition and progress can smoothly go together and that a people who clings to tradition and can be progressive at the same time may be a paradox from the western point of view, but it is a moot question "how far this dogma is supported by the history and evolution of peoples that belong to the East."<sup>1</sup> Japan may just be cited as an instance which, though traditionalist in faith and culture, has demonstrated to the world that traditionalism was no check, so far on the tremendous progress she has made in every sphere of life. It has, therefore, been rightly suggested that "Buddhism is the main tradition in Buddhist countries where an innovation or progressive measure is tested against this touchstone to find out how it would affect the 'welfare' (*hita*) and 'happiness' (*sukha*) of the people."<sup>2</sup>

The tradition of missionary movement in some form or other had already been in vogue since the Vedic period but it was only in Aśoka's time that it was given a new lease of life. As we know, during the time of Aśoka, after the latter embraced Buddhism (c. 260-23) B. C.), Moggallāna Tissa, a high ecclesiastical dignitary and Buddhist leader of the time, conceived the idea of organising "Nine missions"<sup>3</sup> to propagate Buddhism not only within Aśoka's empire but also beyond. Of the countries mentioned in the legend, three were outside India—Ceylon (*Śrī Lankā* with which Aśoka had some diplomatic contact earlier also), the 'Yona' country meaning the country of the Yavanas, i. e., Bactria and *Suvarṇabhūmi*, a region not exactly located either in Burma or in Siam, but signifying broadly in those days what is now known as South-East Asia with which the present study is concerned. The names, *Suvarṇa-bhūmi* (The Land of Gold) and *Suvarṇa-dvīpa* ('The Island of Gold') were quite familiar to the Indians from a very early period

1. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

3. For details see *Ibid.*, p. 14 ff.



and they frequently find mention in the *Jātakas*, the *Kathākośa* and the *Bṛhatkathā* as well as in more serious literary works, mainly Buddhist.

But, we do not have any such reference to Brāhmaṇical 'missions' organised to propagate the Brāhmaṇical religion as the so-called Buddhist "Nine Missions", conceived by Mogaliputta Tissa the tradition of which has been so zealously preserved by the Theravāda School of Buddhism. However, there are scholars who take this legendary story of "Nine Missions" to be rather suspect. It is true, we have evidences of a kind of movement with the specific object of spreading the religion in the country and abroad in the reign of Aśoka which found missionary workers but "its schematisation, as described in the legend, is hardly credible. The introduction of Buddhism into the South-East Asian countries by some of Tissa's missionaries seems also to lack historical evidence except in the case of Ceylon. The legends of Sona and Uttara in Burma and Siam seem to have been borrowed from the stock-legend of Theravāda provenance to give a faked antiquity to Buddhism in these countries."<sup>1</sup> Among the missionaries of the legend it is only Mahinda (Mahendra) who stands out as an undoubtedly historical figure who took Buddhism to Ceylon.

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

II

BRĀHMAṆA PAṆḌITAS



Although we have now enormous literature on the role of Buddhism and Buddhist missionaries in South-East and East Asia, there is no record, worth the name, of the part played by Brāhmaṇa missionaries and Paṇḍitas whose contributions to this great cultural movement were no less great, as they dominated the South-East Asian courts for a fairly long period. The missionary zeal of the Brāhmaṇas and Buddhists caused a steady flow of Indian emigrants to various parts of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the East Indies. The Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas married women of the localities and permanently settled in those far off lands. The influence of their superior culture gradually Hinduised the society with the result that the local people assumed Hindu names and adopted Sanskrit, and later Pali language, and Hindu religion, manners and customs while the Hindu emigrants imbibed local habits and social usages and merged themselves into the local communities.<sup>1</sup>

We have a very interesting eye-witness (contemporary) account of a small state in Malay Peninsula which throws light on a colony in making, named Tuen-Suin by the Chinese. It says that its market was a meeting ground between the east and west, "frequented every day by more than ten thousand men, including merchants from India, Parthia, and more distant Kingdoms who came in large numbers to carry on trade and commerce in rare objects

1. For details see R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Calcutta, 1963, Chap. II.

and precious merchandises. It contains five hundred merchant families, two hundred Buddhists and more than thousand Brāhmaṇas of India. The people of Tuen-Suio follow their religion and give them their daughters in marriage, as most of these Brāhmaṇas settled in the country and do not go away. Day and night they read sacred scriptures and made offerings of white vases, perfumes and flowers to the gods.”<sup>1</sup> In Malay Peninsula (Java, Sumātrā, Borneo and Bali) the Brāhmaṇas formed an important element of the population and the Brāhmaṇical rites and ceremonies were in great favour at their courts. And, of these islands, the island of Bali was the most important centre of Brāhmaṇism which still retains its old Brāhmaṇical culture and civilization, at least to a considerable extent. It was here that the onrushing wave of Islam met with a dismal failure and could not penetrate into the soil of this island. Bali still affords “a unique opportunity” to study Brāhmaṇism as it was “modified by coming into contact with the aborigines of the archipelago”.<sup>2</sup>

#### SIAM :

Similarly, Siam was also a stronghold of the Brāhmaṇas in the early-medieval period of its history. The Thai book entitled *Raung Nang Nabamasa (The Story of Lady Nabamasa)*<sup>3</sup> describes in detail the influence of the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas in Thai Court life. This book is the best source-material for knowing the Brāhmaṇical and other traditions of the Thai royalty. The author of the book was the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa who received patronage in the court of the kings of Sukhodaya.

In Ayudhyā period also the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas exerted tremendous influence in the court. These Brāhmaṇas are

1. Quoted, *Ibid.*, p. 9.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 26

3. Lady Nabamasa, *The Story of Lady Nabamasa* (12th ed.), Bangkok, 1964. We have mention of the various Hindu festivals in this work.

said to have been recruited sometimes from Cambodia, sometimes from the Malay Peninsula and mostly from North and South India.<sup>1</sup> These Paṇḍitas (or Purohitas) discharged various functions at the court such as interpreting supernatural omens to the king,<sup>2</sup> helping in the work of calendar-making and fixing auspicious days for State ceremonies. The chief among them used to be a royal chaplain. But, their most important duty was to officiate at the State ceremonials, particularly the anointing and crowning ceremony.<sup>3</sup>

With the destruction of Ayudhyā in A. D. 1767 the Brāhmaṇas who had escaped the clutches of the Burmese fled to Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja. When the kingdom was re-established, king Tak recalled them and made sincere efforts to collect all that had survived of their ceremonial code. King Rama Tihodi I promulgated the first Thai laws and he was as such revered as a great law-giver, but most of his early legislation was later altered by additions from the Code of Manu.<sup>4</sup> All this clearly shows that the Thai kings, though followers of Buddhist faith, paid personal attention towards the welfare of the Brāhmaṇas and did a lot for the development of Brāhmaṇical gods like Śiva and Viṣṇu.<sup>5</sup>

Evidences from various sources make it clear that Brāhmaṇism reached Siam and Indo-Chinese peninsula in the early centuries of the Christian era first through Kaundinya (Hun-Tien), the founder of the kingdom of Funan, and then by the Indian Brāhmaṇas who followed him. This Kaundinya who reached Indo-Chinese peninsula in the first

1. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London, 1931, p. 54.
2. S. Singaravelu, "Some Aspects of South Indian Cultural Contacts with Thailand: Historical Background", in *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Tamil Studies*, Vol. I, Kuala Lumpur, 1966, p. 35.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 35
4. W. Blanchard, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
5. Dawee Daweeearn, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

century A. D. was a son of Mithilā, and also the founder of the Kaundinya *gotra*.<sup>1</sup> The member of his clan or *gotra* played a very significant role in upholding Saivism in Indo-China. It seems that this Kaundinya (of the Funan kingdom) and the Kaundinya of the Cola country were two different persons but both of them were keenly interested in promoting and safeguarding Śaivism at about the same time and as such both of them claimed descent from the same ancestry.

Kaundinya, the founder of the Funan kingdom, is said to have married Liu-Yeh of Funan, and they had a son who succeeded to the throne and thus founded the first Kaundinya dynasty. "Subsequently about the beginning of the fifth century an Indian Brāhmaṇa from P'an in the Malay Peninsula of Thailand, who was either named Kaundinya or bore the name of the earlier Indian immigrant ruler, became the king of Funan."<sup>2</sup>

The establishment of the first Brāhmaṇa dynasty brought about some very significant changes during this early phase of Brāhmanisation in Indo-Chinese peninsula such as the systematization and extension of the worship of Brāhmaṇical deities, especially the worship of Śiva under the name of Maheśvara; the introduction of South Indian alphabet<sup>3</sup> and of the Śaka era which was then commonly used on the south-east coast of India; conception of royalty characterised by Hindu cults; literary expression through Sanskrit language and mythology taken from the epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and other Sanskrit texts containing a nucleus of royal tradition and the traditional geneologies of royal families of the Gaṅgā region and, finally, the observance of the *Dharmaśāstras*, the

1. For details see Upendra Thakur, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture*, New Delhi, 1974, Chap. XXI.
2. S. Singaravelu, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
3. B. Ch. Chhabra calls it *Pallava Script* (Vide *Journal of Proceedings, Archive Society of Bengal, Calcutta*, 1935, p. 56.

sacred law of Hinduism, particularly the *Mānava-Dharma-sāstra* or the Law of Manu.

G. Coedes suggests that the Indian transmitters of culture were court functionaries, not missionaries. But he forgets that the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas first came as missionaries to Indo-Chinese peninsula, spread their religion and were later honoured by the kings in the courts where they introduced the grandeur style of the Indian courts with the result that only Brāhmaṇas came to be employed to consecrate the king as God in accordance with the ideas and rituals of the Indian classics.<sup>1</sup> And, as we know, this later gave birth to the foundation of the colonies and settlements of the Brāhmaṇas (and also the Buddhists) in important localities.

Though it is difficult to say, in the present state of our knowledge, when Brāhmaṇism entered Siam we can however guess, on the basis of available data that since Siam formed a part of Kamhuja empire about 8th or 9th century A. D., she was naturally influenced by the religious condition of that country. It has been, therefore, rightly suggested that Siam received Brāhmaṇism indirectly through Kamhuja where it was well established by that time.<sup>2</sup> It may also be presumed that Brāhmaṇism was introduced in Thailand when historical facts were not recorded.<sup>3</sup> But, considering all the facts it seems that the former view is more plausible and nearer the truth.

The Brāhmaṇa priests and scholars (*Paṇḍitas*) played a great role in the cultural progress of Thailand like other regions of South-East Asia. Their presence at the court was indirectly responsible for much of the people's belief in this religion, and most of the royal ceremonies and activities were conducted in accordance with the Brāhmaṇical concept

1. D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*, New York, 1968, p. 19.

2. Dawee Daweewarn, *Brāhmaṇism in South-East Asia*, p. 102. *2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 79.

3. *Thailand Official Years Book*, 1964-66, p. 312.



as interpreted by these scholars. In fact, Brāhmaṇism influenced every aspect of Thai life—arts, rites, festivals and ceremonies.<sup>1</sup> The Brāhmaṇa priests officiated at the king's coronation, tonsorial ceremonies, oaths of allegiance to the king taken by officials, royal weddings, royal cremations, and first ploughing ceremonies. Besides these, they also cast and set the favourable time for ceremonies, analysed parlance, interpreted dreams of the king, predicted victory or defeat in war scarcity, and sufficiency of rainfall.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Thai kingdom of Sukhodaya preferred Buddhism, they maintained those Brāhmaṇical traditions and cults that have been characteristic of the Indianised state of Cambodia. We know from an inscription on a statue of Śiva that in 1510 A. D., Dharmāśoka, the king of Kamphengphet, introduced the worship of Śiva. The Takuaapa inscription informs us that as early as the 8th or 9th century A. D. a temple of Viṣṇu was established at Siam.<sup>3</sup> It is now established beyond doubt that Brāhmaṇism preceded Buddhism in Siam where the early Vaiṣṇava tradition is strongly attested by the place-names such as *Phra Narai* (village of Viṣṇu) or *Khao Narai* (Mountain of Viṣṇu). This is further confirmed by the finds of Viṣṇu images sometimes on the back of Garuḍa and sometimes with Lakṣmī.

The kings of Thailand had the attributes of a Brāhmaṇic deity. "Surrounded and protected by impregnable defences of Brāhmaṇic doctrine, magical regalia, sacred ritual, sycophantic officials, he occupied a sacred and remote position."<sup>4</sup> Though the Thai rulers had adopted Khmer Śaivism including the cult of the Liṅga with all its paraphernalia, it was during the time of Rāma Khamheng that Brāhmaṇism received a great impetus in Thailand. His wife, Lady Nopamas was the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa priest

1. For details see, Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, Chap. V.

2. W. F. Vella, *Siam under Rama III*, pp. 29-31.

3. Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

4. W. Blanchard, *Thailand*, p. 28.

and astrologer of the royal court. Though himself a Buddhist, king Kamheng maintained a body of Brāhmaṇa priests in his court who advised him on important matters of state-craft, law and technical aspects, regulated the calendar and east horoscope, managed the Swinging festival, the first ploughing ceremony and rites for the control of wind and rain, looked after the regalia and arranged the royal progress, performed the ceremonies of tonsure, investiture and coronation for royalty and discharged a host of other tasks.<sup>1</sup> Another Thai king Lu-Thai (Lidaiya) formally consecrated to the throne under the Brāhmaṇical title: *Śrī Sūryavarman Rāma Muhādharma Rājādhirāja*.<sup>2</sup> During his reign both the Śramaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas were respected. "Not satisfied with the creation of the statue of Buddha, the king ordered his artists to make one statue of Parameśvara and another of Viṣṇu and consecrated them on the eleventh day of Pūrvāṣāḍha in the *Devālaya* (temple) of Mahākṣetra to whom perpetual service was rendered by the ascetics and the Brāhmaṇas." Yet another king of Thailand, Lu Tai founded an image of Viṣṇu and one of Maheśvara (Śiva) in the *Devālayamahākṣetra* (Brāhmaṇa temple) in the mango-grove of Sukhothaya where all the Brāhmaṇas and ascetics performed the rituals of the cult in perpetuity.<sup>4</sup>

In the Baogkok period also, the ruler of the Chakri dynasty pursued and maintained the same court traditions and ceremonies and extended patronage to the popular celebration of festivals of Hindu origin. Of the various festivals, the festival of Tiruvembavai-Tiruppavai<sup>5</sup> is of the greatest significance, for the ceremonies conducted by the

1. H. G. O. Wates, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

2. Dawes Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

3. A. B. Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhothai Art*, p. 15.

4. Symananda Rong, *A History of Thailand*, p. 48.

5. *Ruang Phrarājaphidi Sibsongduan (Royal Ceremonies of the Twelve Months of the Year)* compiled by H. M. King Culankarana, 1920, pp. 77-108; *Ruang Nang Nabamasa (The Story of Lady Nabamasa)*, Bangkok, 1964, p. 316.

court-Brāhmaṇa, and sacred hymns recited by them on this occasion are vitally related to the concept of Devarāja. These court-Brāhmaṇas presided over certain royal ceremonies which have been performed in the same way ever since there was a Thai kingdom.

It may be interesting to note that the festival of Tiruvembavai-Tiruppavai is called after the titles of the Tamil Śaivite (Tiruvembavai) hymns of twenty stanzas of saint Manikkavasāgara and of the Tamil Vaiṣṇavite (*Tiruppavai*) hymn of thirty stages of saint Aṇḍal, which were recited by the court-Brāhmaṇas at the ceremonies connected by the court-Brāhmaṇas at the ceremonies connected with the festival, held in the Brāhmaṇical sanctions of Śiva and Viṣṇu.<sup>1</sup>

H. G. Quaritch Wales while describing the coronation and anointing ceremonies of the seventh ruler of the present Chakri dynasty, King Prajādhīpok (1925-1935) mentions that the High Priest of Śiva, after rendering homage to the king who was seated on the Bhadrāpīṭha throne, pronounced the Tamil *mantra*, the Siamese name of which (*Poet Pratu Sivalai*) meant: "opening the portals of Sivalaya". This *mantra* was recited by Mahārāja Gru (Guru) of the Thai Court Brāhmaṇas, also on the occasion of another Siamese State Ceremony, popularly known as Lo Jin-Ja (*Trivambavay-Tripavay*) meaning "Pulling the Swing" or Swinging Festival. Also, on the seventh day of the same festival which was held annually in Bangkok and in the former capitals of Ayudhyā and Sukhodaya as well as in other chief cities of the Thai kingdom such as Nakorn Śrī Thammarat (Ligor) in the first lunar month and later in the second month, yet another *mantra*, *Loripavay* was recited by four Brāhmaṇas.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the Tamil verses recited at the Thai Coronation Ceremony and the Swinging Festival were from Manikka-

1. Dawee Daweeearn, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

2. S. Singaravelu, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

vacakara's *Tiruvempavai*,<sup>1</sup> proved beyond doubt by S. Singaravelu who has made a comparative study of the *Mantra* as recited by Phra Mahārāja Gru, Vāmadeva Muni, the present Chief Brāhmaṇical Priest of the Royal Thai Household and Phragru Asadāchāriyan in the Brāhmaṇa temple in Bangkok with the first eleven stanzas of the *Tirumurai* of the Tamil *Tevaram* as well as with the first ten verses of the seventh *Tirumurai* of *Guntarara*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

They also performed (and do so even now) other ceremonies on behalf of other members of the Royal family and private citizens who believed (and still believe) in observing the ancient customs. The royal as well as private ceremonies performed even to-day include the Kwan-Duan (first month) ceremony for infants in which the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍita chants Sanskrit *mantras* (verses) and plays a bando (small, two-faced drum with a weight on the end of a string)."

Thus, the Thai coronation ceremony as performed during the Chakri period is "the Anointing and Crowning of the devotional hymns by Chief of the Court Brāhmaṇas (Phra Mahārājagru) thereby inviting Lords—Śiva and Viṣṇu—to pervade the person of the king".<sup>3</sup> The High Priest of Śiva then gives to the king five principle articles of the royal regalia—the Great Crown of Victory, the auspicious Sword of Victory, Golden Sandals (sanctified by the tradition of their originals having been the symbol of the sovereign power of the ideal ancient Indian king Rāma; the Fan and the Sceptre.<sup>4</sup> Besides these, the other articles included the

1. For details, see *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

2. For other details see *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23, 36-39. Also cf. T. P. Meenakshi Sundaram, "Tirup-pavai, Tiruvempavai in South East Asia" in *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Tamil Studies*, Vol. 1, 1966, pp. 13-20.

3. For details, cf. Ayyamongkol Somakul, "The Indo-Thai Cultural Affinity" in *The Bangkok Post* (Supplement), July 26, 1967, pp. 3-5.

4. S. Singaravelu, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 37.

5. For other details see, *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Brāhmaṇa girdle, an attribute of Śiva, the gun and other weapons of the regalia. The king then addressed the High Priest of Śiva extending his authority over the realm, exhorting at the same time all to live in peace. This reminds us of the similar belief behind the establishment and maintenance of the hereditary Brāhmaṇical sacerdotal family of Śivakaivalya in the kingdom of Cambodia.

In fact, the Thni Royal Court looked like an Indian court full of pomp and magnificence and the king was always surrounded by a host of Brāhmaṇa paṇḍitas as officials, priests, *purohitas*, *Rājaguru*, ministers and generals and royal physicians. The importance of these Brāhmaṇa paṇḍitas was so great in the Thai Court that it was they who constituted the *Luk Khun Sala Hluang* or "The Supreme Court of the Brāhmaṇas" or "Judges of the Royal Court" which acted as an advisory body in the reign of king Boromtrailokanātha. The Court consisted of twelve Brāhmaṇas who were well-versed in the *Dharmaśāstras* and quite familiar with the royal decrees and decisions, to which end one of the three copies of the corpus of law texts was, by tradition, placed in their case.<sup>1</sup>

The chiefs of these twelve Brāhmaṇas were known as Phra Mahā Rāja Gru Purohita and Phra Maharaja Gru Mahādhara, each having a *Sakdi na* grade (meaning "dignity of marks") of 10,000 equivalent to a Chao Phraya (equivalent to General) which indicated the importance of their offices. They also functioned as judges or assessors (*Phy Bikhakṣa*).

Thus, Siam, like Cambodia, maintained a number of court Brāhmaṇas at Bangkok till recently. From an account of Joseph Dahlmann who travelled in Siam in the twenties of this century we know that there were about 80 families of Brāhmaṇas residing in Siam at the time. Their dwellings were erected round a poorly temple comprising three insignificant structures enclosed by a wall. The Brāhmaṇas differed from the Bonzes by the long flowing hair on their

1. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

heads and the white ceremonial gown and the conical cap which vividly bring to our mind the Brāhmaṇas of the island of Bali. Small as is their number by the side of the thousands of Buddhist Bonzes, they still have many privileges conceded to them, as, in spite of all the changes due to Buddhism, the memory of the old Brāhmaṇical royalty is still so deeply rooted in Siamese tradition. To the Brāhmaṇa community is reserved the consecration of the new king, and royalty is held to be properly transmitted to the new ruler only by the completion of such consecration. Simply and solely for this end is this small group of Brāhmaṇas preserved in the midst of the large community of Buddhist Bonzes. At their head stands a *guru* bearing the proud title, *Mahārājaguru*. With the consecration of the king goes the consecration of the royal elephant, also reserved to the *Mahārājaguru*, for what is the Siamese king without his white elephant? There is a published official account in English of the details of ceremonies and *mantras* employed on the occasion of the coronation of His Majesty King Prajādhīpok in February 1926 (B. E. 2468).<sup>2</sup>

The Brahmana paṇḍitas functioning in the Siamese Court in the present time constitute a small body of men who perform duties in connection with those ceremonies of the State that are not wholly Buddhist.<sup>3</sup> One can discern in their features a trace of Indian Brāhmaṇa blood but since no female Brāhmaṇas ever accompanied them from India, they intermarried with the people of the country, and so this trace of Indian blood is now but slight. "They wear their hair long, in the form of a Chignon, and on ceremonial occasions don the Brāhmaṇic cord and wear white (a Siamese lower garment, called *pha-num*, together with a white jacket, embroidered with silver flowers in the case of

1. Joseph Dahlmann, *Indische Fahrten*, i, p. 124; Dawee Dawee-warn, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

2. Dawee Dawee-warn, *op. cit.*, p. 1105.

3. H. G. Q. Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

the Head Priest). They represent two sects—the Vaiṣṇavas (*Brāhmaṇa Brāhīpaśa*) and Śaivas (*Brāhmaṇa Bidhī*), but they have in Bangkok three temples in one enclosure,<sup>1</sup> the larger one (that on the south) being dedicated to Īśvara (Śiva), the middle one to Gaṇeśa, and the northern one to Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), the houses in which the Brāhmaṇas live being in the vicinity."<sup>2</sup>

The Court-Brāhmāṇas of Thailand speak only one language—Siamese. Sanskrit is now alien to them but they preserve corrupt Sanskrit texts usually written in an Indian character which some of the Brāhmaṇas are able to read. They have also one hymn in Tamil which also they can neither read nor write. From available records we know that in the Ayudhyā period there were Brāhmaṇas who did understand these Indian languages. The texts which the Siamese Brāhmaṇas now possess are the Sanskrit and Tamil *mantras* (hymns) with "instructions in Siamese for the preliminary rites intended to be used in daily worship, and as an introduction to the more important ceremonies."<sup>3</sup> We are told that the ancestors of these Brāhmaṇas, a few decades ago, possessed other manuscripts as well containing instructions for all the State ceremonies, but these were carried off by a certain Brāhmaṇa family who left the royal service and settled at some other place. The then head priest belonged to this family whose name was *Um* or *Om*. During the lifetime of this priest efforts were made by the Royalty to recover these manuscripts which finally led to the capture and imprisonment of his mother. Upon this the manuscripts dealing with the preliminary rites were returned of which the National Library at Bangkok has a few copies. But the other manuscripts, though certainly in existence, could not be recovered as the government did not want to create

1. The author has personally seen and surveyed these temples thrice.

2. H. G. O. Wales, *op. cit.* p. 54.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

commotion by attempting to obtain them by force. This being the case, the Brāhmaṇas now a days use only those texts that were returned, for all purposes, and since they do not understand Sanskrit they mumble both instructions and *mantras* indiscriminately.<sup>1</sup>

Now-a days daily worship is not performed in the temple and the Brāhmaṇas perform the State ceremonies without consulting those texts or written instructions since they or their fathers have seen the rites performed in the days when the other books were extant. King Rama V had fortunately access to these texts and he made full use of them in compiling the *Roan Brah Raja Bidhi Sipson Do'an* ('*Ceremonies of the Twelve Months*'). Alabaster who had access to a larger range of Brāhmaṇical literature than we have today remarks that there are frequent references to, and (supposed) quotations from, the three *Vedas* (*Veda Traya* or *Trayī Veda*) and the *Śāstras*. They reject the *Atharvaveda* as later interpolation as did Manu and other orthodox Hindu thinkers.<sup>2</sup>

The only Tamil *mantra* used by these Brāhmaṇas in Court ceremonies is the "opening the portals of Kailāsa", written in Indian character. There are also *yantra* diagrams which are used at the time of performing rituals. The Indian script used in the Sanskrit *mantras* is, in the opinion of L. D. Barnett, Pāṇḍyan which may be ascribed to a period not later than thirteenth century A. D.<sup>3</sup> The most interesting aspect of the *mantras* is that they retain traces of metrical composition, and we can easily trace perfectly correct Sanskrit words, for instance, *paramarāja* which concludes the second *mantra*. Another interesting aspect of this story is the blending of the two religions in Siam-Buddhism and Hinduism in seventeenth and nineteenth

1. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

2. Compiled by H. M. King Culankarana, Bangkok, 1951.

3. H. G. O. Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, London, 1931, p. 55.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 56.



centuries and therefore it is not surprising to find that the Court Brāhmaṇas are also Buddhists and as a rule they have to pass through the novitiate as Buddhist monks before undergoing the ceremony of initiation and wearing the Brāhmaṇa girdle. It is also this fact that they are Buddhists as well as Hindus that prevents them from carrying out animal sacrifices in connection with their rites.

The ceremony of initiation to Brāhmaṇa priesthood is still performed in Thailand which is known as *Pvāj Brat*. It consists of two stages—(i) taking the cord of three strigs and (ii) taking the chord of six strings. The details of this ceremony are described in a manuscript which has been mentioned in the Siamese history of the Ayudhya period.<sup>1</sup> Besides Baogkok, the other two places in Siam where Brāhmaṇism is still found are Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja and Batahlun in the Peninsula which even now preserve the remnants of the temples. In all the ancient capitals as well as in the main provincial centres in the past there were Brāhmaṇa temples. There were ceremonies of consecration for both kings and priests, but whereas the king identified himself with Indra, the Brāhmaṇa was Bṛhaspati, the *purohita* of the gods.<sup>2</sup> The ascendant position attained by the Brāhmaṇas in India was maintained for sometime by those who went overseas and settled in the states colonised by Indians in Indo-China.

Despite the fact that the Thais were Buddhists, their kings loved royal pomp and grandeur and surrounded themselves with the appurtenances of Khmer royalty, and recruited their Court Brāhmaṇas from Cambodia. For centuries, indeed, Brāhmaṇism enjoyed a very significant position in Indo-China in general and in Siam in particular. Although Buddhism was the religion of the State and of the people, fully protected by the kings, Hinduism was still

1. Cf. "Brahmavahāra of Hlan Prasoth" in *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. VI, Pt. 3, Bangkok, 1909.

2. Hocart, *Kingship*, London, 1927, Chap. X.

considered as essential to the monarchy and so received "a great share of royal favour". The Thai people never became Hindus, but during the Sukhodaya period the kings recruited their Vaiṣṇava Court Brāhmaṇas from Cambodia and assumed much of the Cambodian Vaiṣṇava Court Ceremonial where "Indian Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇism" had reached during the early centuries of the christian era. This intercourse with Cambodia was revived from time to time during the succeeding centuries.

The Ayudhyā period marks a turning point in the history of the Court Brāhmaṇas in Siam. As noted above, these Brāhmaṇas were recruited from time to time, both from Cambodia and from the Peninsula (Indian Śaiva Brāhmaṇas). When the kingdom of Ayudhyā was finally destroyed by the Burmese in 1767 A. D., the Brāhmaṇas who had escaped the clutches of the Burmese invaders, fled to Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja, from where they were recalled by King Tak, on the re-establishment of his kingdom. He made all possible efforts to collect all that had survived of their ceremonial lore. It was indeed a very difficult task since many of their books had been destroyed by fire at the fall of Ayudhyā. Moreover, very few of the court Brāhmaṇas who had officiated at Ayudhyā survived and as such the tradition was broken and "most of those who took service at the Court of Bangkok were the descendants of comparatively recent arrivals."<sup>1</sup> Aymonier, while comparing the Brāhmaṇas of Bangkok with those at Phnompenh, the modern capital of Cambodia, observes :

"Unlike the Brāhmaṇas of Cambodia the Siamese Brāhmaṇas are not relics of a once powerful religious caste, but have been brought in later (from Ligor<sup>2</sup> and elsewhere) to construct the court ceremonies in imitation of other courts with an Indian Ceremonial."<sup>3</sup>

1. H. G. Q. Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

2. E. Crawford, *Embassy to Siam*, London, 1928, p. 119.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 119

Though the modern Court Brahmanas of Bangkok are some what indolent, and unintelligent and quite ignorant of the history and significance of the State ceremonies, nevertheless we owe them a certain amount of respect for what they represent. It is true, they do not enjoy the exalted position now as they did before. After the foundation of Bangkok as the capital of modern Siam, the tendency on the part of the kings has been to exalt Buddhism at the cost of the older religion (Hinduism or Brāhmaṇism). The result was that many of the pure Hindu ceremonies were discontinued after the fall of Ayudhyā "with consequent diminution in the importance of the Brāhmaṇas."<sup>1</sup> However, during the Bangkok period itself the status of the priests seems to have changed little; "indeed this would scarcely be possible short of their complete abolition", and our earliest account of the Bangkok Brāhmaṇas, that of Crawford, who visited Siam on an embassy in 1821, might almost apply to the present day. Crawford has recorded the statement of the Brahmana who claimed to be fifth in descent from his ancestor "who had settled in Siam and who.....came from the sacred Island of Ramiseram" (Rāmeśvaram) between Ceylon and the Main".

At the present time some of the Brāhmaṇas have a tradition that their ancestors came from Banaras or Vārāṇasī. Possibly both the accounts are true, as Brāhmaṇas from different parts of India are said to have gone over to Siam and other countries of South-East Asia in batches at different times. In Bangkok, therefore, there are now descendants of the Brāhmaṇas from both North and South India. "In any case, such traditions are certainly interesting as evidence of late immigration from India whereas modern *Bakus* (Brāhmaṇas) have lost all tradition of such immigration. At least,

1. H. G. O. Wales *op. cit.* p. 61.

2. Rāmeśvaram in South India, the famous place of pilgrimage for Hindus. For other details, see S. Singaravelu, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37.

the head-priest at Phnompenh recently informed Prince Damrong quite seriously that his ancestor came from Mount Kailāsa (the traditional home of Śiva).<sup>1</sup>

The Brāhmaṇas of Siam are also known as *Phrams*, which is a corruption of the word Brāhmaṇa. They constitute a small community of Bangkok who live near their temple *Wat Bot Pram* meaning "The Pagoda of the sanctuary of the Brāhmaṇas."<sup>2</sup> The sanctuary consists of only three brick temples in an enclosure which contain colossal images of Trimūrti or Trinity (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśa) which is known as *Phra-Maharazakhruvidhi* (Skt: *Mahārāja Guruviddhi*). There are some Brāhmaṇa families round about Chaiyya in southern Thailand.<sup>3</sup>

The Siamese sculptors even now draw inspiration from Brāhmaṇical traditions and make images of Yamarāja, Māra, Indra and other deities. "The Brāhmaṇic idea of Mount Meru as the centre of this universe is accepted in Siamese religious books and paintings. The greatest symbolic aspects of the glory of Brāhmaṇism still remain in many parts of Thailand, though the country is purely a Buddhist one."<sup>4</sup>

As in India, in Siam and Cambodia also, at an early period, the office of *Purohita* was held by a Brāhmaṇa but this was not the case during the Bangkok period. Under the old regime there was an office of *Purahita*, but when the government came to be modernised, the Brāhmaṇas lost their power. The history of the Ayudhya period frequently refers to various supernatural omens which were interpreted by the Brāhmaṇas, and the king always embarked on important undertakings such as military expedition after making sure that his soothsayers considered day and hour propitious. Besides, even now good omens such as the advent of white elephant were eagerly looked for, while in the State Cerem-

1. H. G. Q. Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

2. P. N. Bose, *Indian Colony of Siam*, p. 110.

3. K. S. Lal (ed.), *Sivadas in Asian History*, p. 182.

4. Dawee Daweeewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

ony, at least the First Ploughing, soothsaying still exists in its ancient form, and these features have been retained on account of their popularity with the masses.

As the office of *Purohita* was abolished long ago and that of astrologer has now passed into non-Brāhmaṇa hands, the present Siamese Brāhmaṇas now perform only the duties of officiating priests. Although the institution of the Court Brāhmaṇas is now fast vanishing, nonetheless, "so long as State Ceremonial retains its present form, a corps of Court Brāhmaṇas will remain essential and in making it possible for the king to continue to maintain the pomp and dignity inseparable from absolute monarchy, these priests still perform a very important function for the benefit of the society as a whole."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the Brāhmaṇas, the priests and the scholars have played a great role in the all round progress of Thailand.<sup>2</sup> The presence of the Brāhmaṇas at the Court was indirectly responsible for much of the people's belief in Brāhmaṇical and Hindu deities and Indian magico-religious practices. As we have shown above, most of the ceremonial activities of the king and the royal court were conducted in accordance with the Brāhmaṇical concept as interpreted by these Brāhmaṇas. Brāhmaṇism, in fact, had considerable influence over Thai culture, particularly its arts, rites and ceremonies.<sup>3</sup> From the Sukhodaya period upto the present day most of the State Ceremonies have been a combination of the two religions—Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism. Even at the present time Brāhmaṇical faith and rites are practised in Thailand.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the available evidence justifies the assumption that the region around the Bay of Bandon was the cradle of Further

1. H. G. O. Wales, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

2. G. Coedes, *Les États Hindouisés D'Indochine et De'Indonésie*, Paris, 1964, p. 41.

3. *Thailand Official Year Book*, Bangkok, 1962, p. 555.

4. For details see W. F. Volla, *Siam Under Rama III*, New York, 1952, pp. 29-31.

Eastern Culture inspired by waves of Indian culture spreading across the route from Takua Pa. We come across persons of Indian cast of features on the west coast near Takua Pa, while colonies of the Brāhmaṇas of Indian origin survive at Nakhon Śrī Dhammarat and Patalung who trace the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malay Peninsula.<sup>1</sup>

#### KAMBUJA DEŚA

As we know, apart from their literary merits the Kambuja inscriptions are invaluable as testifying to the importance of Brāhmaṇas in religious and spiritual life of the land. One of the interesting characteristics of the Kambuja Court-life is the very intimate association between the secular and the spiritual heads. As a matter of practice, the Kambuja kings in general received their instructions in early life from eminent religious *ācāryas* (Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas<sup>2</sup>). The predominance of the priestly families who supplied royal priests for successive generations, such as that of Śivakaivalya, is "both an index and a cause of the spiritual outlook of the king and the people."<sup>3</sup> The tutelary deity of the kingdom with the cult of Devarāja placed in charge of a long line of High Priests who were 'the *gurus* or preceptors of the kings must have helped to a great extent in moulding the whole view of life in the kingdom."<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, the frequent intermarriage between the royal and priestly families was further responsible for tremendous increase in the power and prestige of the Brāhmaṇas in the Cambodian society, and for this credit goes to Brāhmaṇa Kaundinya<sup>5</sup>, the founder of the kingdoms

1. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 20.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

5. B. R. Chatterji, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 8.

of Funan and Kambuja, who first of all married the Cambodian princess, Somā. A tradition current in Khmer suggests that a group of Brāhmaṇas came to Kambuja from Java and established their kingdom there. The first group of the Brāhmaṇas are said to have come from Vārāṇasī (Uttar Pradesh, India) who were mostly dark-complexioned with long hair.<sup>1</sup> As we have noted above, Chinese tradition informs us that there were one thousand Brāhmaṇas in village Tuen-Suin who married the daughters of the local inhabitants and gradually converted them to their own religion.<sup>2</sup>

An inscription dated 713 A. D. records the marriage of a daughter of king Jayavarman I with Śakrasvāmin, a Śaiva Brāhmaṇa who was born in India<sup>3</sup>, and was well-versed in the doctrines of Vedānta and Taittirīya. One of the queens of Jayavarman II, Bhāsasvāminī, was the daughter of a Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇa.<sup>4</sup> Another Brāhmaṇa Divākara Bhaṭṭa who was born on the bank of the river Kālindī, sacred with the association of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood, married Rājalakṣmī, the daughter of Rājendravarman and the younger sister of Jayavarman V.<sup>5</sup> We further learn from the Prah Bat Stele inscription that a Brāhmaṇa named Agastya married princess Yaśomatī<sup>6</sup>. Yet, another Brāhmaṇa, named Hṛṣīkeṣa of *Bharadvāja gotra* who had become the royal priest of Jayavarman VII, married his elder daughter to Jayavarman VIII.<sup>7</sup> The sister of king Bhavavarman I, the first king of Chenla, was married to an Indian Brāhmaṇa

1. *Bulletin d'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, (BEFO), Vol. III, Paris, 1903, p. 277.

2. Upendra Thakur, *op. cit.*, Chap. XXI.

3. G. Coedès, *Inscription du Cambodge*, Vol. IV, Paris, 1935, Verses 3, 53.

4. G. Coedès, *Inscription du Campa et du Cambodge*, No. 15, Pra Keva A. V. 2 (Paris).

5. R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Calcutta, 1953, No. 60, p. 7, V. 3.

6. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, No. III, p. 285.

7. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, No. 190, p. 543, vv. 10-11.

and the couple are said to have made a gift of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* to a temple situated on the bank of the Mekong river.<sup>1</sup> These evidences clearly reveal the exalted social position of the Brāhmaṇas and their dignified status in the Cambodian courts. Moreover, the matrimonial alliances of the Indian Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas with the royal families of Kambuja led to the birth of a new class of people in the Cambodian society who came to be known as *Brahmākṣatra*.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, we find that Cambodia was effectively Brāhmaṇised where the kings, nobles and priests bore Sanskrit names. The Paṇḍitas of the court wrote inscriptions in elegant Sanskrit some of which are quite long compositions. The princess received their education in grammar (*Siddhānta-Kaumudī* of Pāṇini), *Dharmaśāstras* and *Sūlḍarśana* (six systems of Indian philosophy). *Śāstrotsavas* (literary assemblies) were very often held in which Brāhmaṇa ladies also participated and were honoured for their learned discourses. A sixth century inscription mentions how the *Vedas* were studied and how the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* were daily recited without interruption. The libraries in the royal court were stocked with books on all *śāstras*.

Similarly Cambodia's social life was also greatly influenced by the Brāhmaṇical way of life. The Indian Brāhmaṇas, because of their very respectful position in the society were married to the royal princesses and Khmer brides as a result of which a new class of people—known as Brahma-Kṣatra, noted above, sprang up. The kings used to participate actively in the organisation or re-organisation of the caste-system on the advice of the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas. Even now some of the "Brāhmaṇa families preserve books of Vedic *mantras* (with Vedic decent) written in Bengali script, books on *Purāṇas* like the *Bhāgavata*

1. *Ibid.*, No. 13, p. 18 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, No. 62, p. 56, Verse 1.



*Purāṇa*, or books on astrology written in Burmese language or a book in Sanskrit *Cāṇakya-sāstra*".<sup>1</sup>

We have references to many Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas in Kambuja inscriptions who came from India and settled down in Kambuja. During the reign of Jayavarman V two more Brāhmaṇas are said to come from India, purchased lands and built a temple of Śiva. One of the ancestors of Yaśovarman's mother was a Brāhmaṇa of Āryadeśa who was well-versed in the *Vedas* and *Vedāṅgas*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly Sarvajñamuni, a Brāhmaṇa from Āryadeśa (India), well-versed in the four *Vedas* and all the *āgamas*, came to Kambuja during this period.<sup>3</sup> He was a great devotee of Lord Śiva and his descendants occupied high religious offices. Vāmaśiva was yet another great Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍita from India who became the royal priest of Indravarman.<sup>4</sup>

Among the galaxy of Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas who adorned the court of Kambuja in early period, Hiraṇyadāma occupies the foremost place. The Sdok Kok Thom Stele inscription tells us about the activities of this learned Brāhmaṇa who was well-versed in Tantras and other branches of Sanskrit learning. He was an inhabitant of *Bhārata-varṣa* (India) and was invited by Jayavarman II (A. D. 802-850) to perform the Tantric rites in connection with the installation of the Cult of Devarāja in his new capital. In this inscription the Brāhmaṇa Sadāśiva recounts the history of his family which "possessed an uncontested monopoly in the discharge of priestly office pertaining to the Devarāja cult."<sup>5</sup> The inscription recounts how king Jayavarman II came from Java to Iodrapura in Cambodia. Here he appointed the priest Śivakaivalya as his teacher (*guru*) and court chaplain (*rājapurohita*). The capital, after two shifts to Hariharālaya and Amarendrapura, was finally established

1. K. S. Lal (ed.), *Studies in Asian History*, p. 182.

2. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies...*, p. 211.

3. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, No. 191, p. 549, Verse 7.

4. *Ibid.* (Sdok Kok Thom Inscription of Jayavarman V), p. 285.

5. Hermann Kulke, *The Devarāja Cult*, New York, 1978, p. 14.

on Mahendraparvata. "At that time there came a Brāhmaṇa named Hiranyadāma from Janapada (India), a savant versed in magical science (*siddhi vidyā*). He was invited by his Highness, Parameśvara (posthumous name of Jayavarman) in order to conduct a ceremony (*vidhi*) which should prevent this land of Kambuja from ever being dependent (*āyatta*) on Java, and to bring about (instead) that there should be only one single 'Lord of the Lower earth' who would be *cakravartin* (Universal Lord). This Brāhmaṇa conducted the ceremony in accordance with the *Vināśikha*. He consecrated (*Pratiṣṭhā*) the Lord of the World, who is king (*Kamraten jagat ta rāja* = Skt. *Devarāja*). This Brāhmaṇa taught the *Holy Vināśikha*, *Nayottara*, *Saṁmoha* and *Śraścheda* (Tantras ?) all of which he recited from beginning to end, in order to have them written down and to teach them to Steṇ añ Śivakaivalya. He gave instruction to Steṇ añ Śivakaivalya, so that the latter could perform the ritual (*vidhi*) in the presence of (*nā*) the *Kamraten jagat ta rāja*. "His Royal Highness Parameśvara and the Brāhmaṇa Hiranyadāma granted a concession and swore on oath, ordaining that the family-line of the Steṇ añ Śivakaivalya should officiate in the presence of the *Kamraten Jagat ta rāja*, forbidding that other people should officiate. Steṇ añ Śivakaivalya, the *purohita*, appointed his whole family to the service of the ritual. Then His Royal Highness Parameśvara, the king, went back again to be ruler in the royal city of Hariharālaya. His Highness, the *Kamraten añ ta rāja* was conducted (*nāñ*) back also. Śivakaivalya, together with his whole family, officiated according to the rules. Steṇ añ Śivakaivalya died during this reign (of Jayavarman). His Royal Highness Parameśvara went to heaven while (residing) in the city of Hariharālaya. The *Kamraten Jagat ta rāja* moved from place to place accompanying the king to the respective capital cities, in order to protect (*cañ*) the rule (*rājya*) of future kings (*Kamraten phudai Karom*)."<sup>1</sup>

1. Hermann Kulke, *The Devarāja Cult*, New York, 1978, p. 16.

Then follows a short account describing the activities of the priest Sūkṣmavindu who, after the death of Śivakaivalya became the priest (*purohita*) of Devarāja under Jayavarman III. We are told that "during the reign of His Royal Highness Viṣṇuloka (Jayavarman III), the *Kamrateñ jagat ta rāja* resided in Hariharālaya and Steñ añ Sūkṣmavindu was *purohita* of the *Kamrateñ jagat ta rāja*. The whole family officiated in the presence of the *Kamrateñ jagat ta rāja*".<sup>1</sup>

The rest of the verses in the Khmer text of the Sdok Kak Thom inscription narrate in almost the same terms the careers of the successors of Śivakaivalya who in the capacity of the royal priest presided over the official ritual of Devarāja under various kings of Angkor till the time of the priest Sadāśiva during the reign of Jayādityavarman (1050-1066 A. D.) Sadāśiva was the tutor of king Yaśovarman and "his whole family officiated in accordance with the rules in the presence of the *Kamrateñ jagat ta rāja*. This grand Brāhmaṇa, according to the inscription, possessed expert knowledge of music, arts, astronomy and medicine, as well as rituals and Tantras. He is said to have learnt *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar) from his preceptor, Vāgīndra Kavi." We further learn from this inscription that Śivācārya, the penultimate member of the line of priests from the family of Śivakaivalya "offered worship (*arcā*) daily, full of zeal and excluding other priests" to the Devarāja and that Sadāśiva, the last Chief of the Śivakaivalyas, honoured the Devarāja.<sup>2</sup>

From the Sdok Kak Thom inscription we get a short biography of Sadāśiva, the last *Purohita* of the Devarāja as known to us. We are told that he was married to the sister-in-law of Sūryavarman I (1002-1050 A. D.) and withdrawn from religious functions. Consequently, he was named his

1. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

royal chaplain (*rājapurohita*) and invested with one of the highest state offices.<sup>1</sup> Later on he became the *guru* of Udayādityavarman II and received the highest royal title: *dhātī jen vrah kamrateñ añ* and was named as Śrī Jayendravarman.<sup>2</sup> "In spite of this dizzy career of Sadāśiva there is no mistaking that his family had forfeited its monopolistic position as the most important priestly family of the kingdom", and in its place, the Saptadevakula priestly family, connected to Sūryavarman I, by bonds of kingship, advanced further into the foreground under Sūryavarman and his successors."<sup>3</sup> Śanikarapaṇḍita was the head of this family who was appointed sacrificial priest (*hotar*) and teacher (*guru*) of Sūryavarman. During the time of Udayādityavarman he was also given the assignment of the sacrificial priest (*yajaka*) of the "golden liṅga" installed on the Baphuon temple mountain<sup>4</sup> which "stood right at the centre of the State cult under Udayādityavarman"<sup>5</sup> similar to the Tribhuvanēśvar Liṅga under Jayavarman. It has been rightly suggested that the "final passing over of the cult in the State sanctuary of the Baphuon seems to have induced Sadāśiva, at the peak of his (no longer temporal) power, to establish, in the Sdok Kak Thom inscription, a lasting monument to the dominant role, which his family had played from the beginning in the State cult of Angkor".<sup>6</sup> While on the one hand, Sadāśiva "sought to announce the greatness of his family to future generations" through this inscription, on the other he "endowed a Brahmā sculpture for the priest Hiraṇyadāma and a Harihara sculpture jointly for his ancestor Śivakaivalya and the priest Śiva-Āśrama, the co-founder of the Śiva-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

4. Lovek Inscription, Vs. 37-43 : R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 423 ff.

5. H. Kulke, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Āsrama that was so important to the Śivakaivalya family",<sup>1</sup> in the small temple in Bhadrāniketana (=Sdok Kak Thom) in which this important inscription was inscribed.<sup>2</sup>

At the time of the founding of Yaśodharapura, as capital city, the *liṅga* was consecrated upon the Yaśodharagiri (Bakhen) and it is said that Vāmaśiva, the (Brāhmaṇa) *guru* of Yaśovarman (887-910 A. D.), "erected a Śiva-*liṅga* on the king's request upon the Śrī Yaśodharagiri, equal in splendour to the king of the Mountain Meru".<sup>3</sup> Of Iśānamūrti, the *hotar* of Jayavarman IV (A. D. 921-940) it is said that full of devotion (*bhakti*), he honoured Tribhuvaneśvara—the *liṅga* that Jayavarman IV caused to be erected on the Prosāt Thom in Koh Ker.<sup>4</sup>

From the Prasat Kandol inscription we learn that a learned Brāhmaṇa named Śivasoma was the *guru* of Indravarman. He came from a Brāhmaṇa family and is referred to as another Rudra who had acquired pure intelligence based on logic, rhetoric and other sciences. A unique receptacle of all the sciences and the knower of the *Vedas*, he was also expert in other Śāstras such as the *Purāṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, Śaiva grammar and grammar of Pāṇini and other treatises as if he were the author of these classics.<sup>5</sup> He is said to have learnt the *śāstras* from Bhāgavat-Saṃkara whose "lotus feet were touched by the heads of the sages." The reference here is perhaps to the great Saṃkarācārya whose period is exactly the same as that of Indravarman (A.D. 877-889) whose *guru* was Śivasoma.<sup>6</sup> We have reference to yet another Śivasoma in the Pon Ken inscription which dates from 1074 A. D. He is said to have been an excellent ascetic and knower of *Yoga* which he also practised.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

2. For other details see 39 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

5. G. Coedes, *Inscription du Cambodge (IC)*, Vol. I. Paris, 1932, verses 40-42.

6. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 211.

Vidyādeśa was yet another learned Brāhmaṇa whom the Sambor Prei Kuk inscription (A. D. 627) describes as the knower of multiple science and the highest authority on grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Sāṃkhya and also Buddhism who set up Śivaliṅga during the reign of king Īśānavarman I.<sup>1</sup> This inscription further informs us that Durgasvāmin, the great Brāhmaṇa who was married to the daughter of Īśānavarman, possessed expert knowledge of the *mantra*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Sūtras*.<sup>2</sup> Besides, we have mention of Brāhmaṇa Vidyāpuṣpa, a master of Pāsupata sect (7th century A. D.) who gave "a certain meaning to *Śabda* (grammar), *Vaiśeṣika* and *Nyāya* (logic)"<sup>3</sup>; Nāga (8th century A. D.) well-versed in the *Vedas*;<sup>4</sup> Śakrasvāmin, a Śaiva Brāhmaṇa in the service of queen Jayadeva and well-versed in Vedānta and Taittīrīya<sup>5</sup>; Śrīsvāmin who has been described in the Prasat Kok Po inscription (c. 885 A. D.) as "the Brāhmaṇa who possessed superior knowledge of the *Vedas*, the *Vyākaraṇa* and different philosophical systems and was gifted like Brahmā with unique face"<sup>6</sup>; Amarabhava, an ascetic (*yati*) having expert knowledge of the texts dealing with *Tantra* (Śaiva) *Jyotiṣa* (astronomy, and *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar)<sup>7</sup>; Śrī Satyāśraya, a matchless astrologer (*Horāśāstra*)<sup>8</sup>; Yogīśvara, also known as Yājñavalkya because of his deep knowledge of the *Smṛtis*, an adviser to the king before whose feet the princes used to prostrate, and regarded him as another Manu<sup>9</sup>; Caitanyaśiva, "the best *ācārya* and foremost in grammar and Śaivite Śāstras" who was in the

1. *BEFED*, Vol. XXViii, p. 44.

2. *IC*, Vol. IV, Verses 3, 27.

3. *IC*, Vol. I, Verses 3.5.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Verses 1, 129.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Verses 3, 56.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Verses 40, 42.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. I Verses, 9, 257.

8. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, verses 8, 201.

9. G. Coedès, *Inscriptions de Camboja et du Cambodge (ISCC)*, Paris No. XLIX, p. 397.

service of king Harṣavarman II, a son and successor of Jayavarman IV (942 A. D.); Śikhāśiva, "a master among the masters and the foremost among the *yagins* (*ācāryyānām ya ācāryyo grāmanīryagināṁ api*)", during the reign of Iśānavarman II (925 A. D.); Someśvara Bhaṭṭa, a great *Paṇḍita* (scholar) of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Mīmāṃsā* whom king Rājendravarman used to visit; Yajñavaraha, a *Brāhmaṇa* foremost in the knowledge of *Paṭaṅjali* (Yoga system), *Kaṇāda* (Vaiśeṣika), *Akaṣapāda* (Gautama : the founder of *Nyāya* system), *Kapila* (Sāṅkhya), the Buddha (Buddhism) as well as medicine and music and astrology", was the guru of the king; Viṣṇukimūra<sup>2</sup>; Rājendra Vaidya<sup>3</sup>; Kirtti Paṇḍita<sup>4</sup> Vāgīśvara Paṇḍita<sup>5</sup>; Pañcagavya, expert in *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar)<sup>6</sup> and Kavindra Paṇḍita, *ācārya* of Sanskrit literature and interpreter of the various treatises on polity, grammar and religion (*āgama*) and the epics—*Bhārata* (*Mahābhārata*) and the *Rāmāyana* which he taught to his disciples.<sup>7</sup> We are further told that this *Brāhmaṇa*-scholar was the revered *purohita* (chaplain) of king Sūryavarman and was "well-versed in the revealed literature".<sup>8</sup> He is also mentioned in another inscription of king Sūryavarman where he is described as having performed knowledge of six *Vedāṅgas*, namely pronunciation, metre, grammar, loxicography, astronomy and ritual.<sup>9</sup> Besides these, we have also mention of Śikhāntācārya, the *purohita* of king Śrī

1. S. Levi, *Mélanges d'Indinisme*, Paris 1911, p. 222; *IC*. III 103. No. 4.

2. *IC*, Vol. I, verses 239, 99.

3. *IC*, Vol. I, verses 20, 150.

4. *Ibid*, Vol. I, verses 29, 150.

5. *Ibid*, Vol. I, verses 41A, 167.

6. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, VI, verses 28, 198.

7. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, verses 22, 48.

8. *BEFEO*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 64; fn. 23.

9. *Ibid*. Vol. XXVIII, p. 64.

10. *IC*, Vol. VI, verses III, 240.

11. *Ibid*, Vol. V, verses 38, 254.

Indravarmā<sup>1</sup>; Yogīśvara Paṇḍita, *guru* of king Sūryavarman I<sup>2</sup>; Bhūpendra Paṇḍita, a Brāhmaṇa official under kings Jayavarman VI, Dharaṇīndravarmā and Sūryavarman II who had dived deep into "the five oceans of *Siddhānta* (astronomy), philosophy (*darsana*), grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*) of the sage, Pāṇini as well as the *Veda* and Polity", Hiraṇya, a learned Brāhmaṇa<sup>3</sup>; Siddharṣi who possessed knowledge "of the essential significance of all the books on knowledge"<sup>4</sup> Śikhara, recitor of the sacred *Dharmaśāstra*<sup>5</sup>; Kaṇṭha Paṇḍita, a Brāhmaṇa who had specialised in *Dharmaśāstra*,<sup>6</sup> Divākara Paṇḍita<sup>7</sup> and many other Brāhmaṇas who adorned the court of the various kings of Kamhujadeśa.

Though we can cite only a few actual instances of the learned Brāhmaṇas of India, versed in sacred scriptures, settling in Kamhujadeśa, and the learned priests of the latter country visiting India, "they corroborate what may be regarded as the only reasonable hypothesis which offers a satisfactory explanation of the thoroughness with which literary, religious and spiritual culture of India was imbibed by the people of Kambuja."<sup>8</sup>

It is interesting to note that the Indian Brāhmaṇas who visited Cambodia during this period were not only received warmly but were also given daughters of the rulers in marriage and vice-versa; for instance, the daughter of Bhavavarman I was married to Brāhmaṇa Somasarmā;<sup>10</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, verses, 78, 255.
2. *ISCC*, Vol. XVI, 117.
3. *IC*, Vol. I, Verses 47, 237.
4. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Verses 28, 302.
5. *IC*, Vol. IV, Verses 17, 255.
6. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, lines 1-5, 251.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, lines 22-24, 130.
8. *BEFEO*, Vol. XLIII, lines 28-29, 142.
9. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 211-12. Also see M. K. Sharan, *Studies in Sanskrit Inscriptions of Ancient Cambodia*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 61 ff.
10. R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions*, No. 13, p. 19, vv 1-3.



Indradevī, the mother of Yaśovarman belonged to the family of Agastya who had come to Cambodia from India<sup>1</sup>; Bhāsa-svāminī, the wife of Jayavarman II was a Brāhmaṇa girl in whose family the celebrated Yogiśvara Paṇḍita, noted above, was born<sup>2</sup>; both the queens of Jayavarman VII were from the Brāhmaṇa family<sup>3</sup> and Prabhā, the wife of Jayavarman VIII was also a Brāhmaṇa girl.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, the learned Brāhmaṇa Agastya (towards the end of the 7th century A.D.) was married to the younger sister of king Jayavarman. The younger sister of Sūryavarman I was married to Jayendra Paṇḍita, an Indian scholar. The daughter of Sūryavarman I was also married to a Brāhmaṇa scholar, named Vāsudeva.<sup>5</sup>

While discussing the cult of Devarāja, Coedes remarks that "this miraculous *linga*, sort of palladium of the kingdom, is generally considered as having been obtained from Śiva, by the intermediary of a Brāhmaṇa who gives it to the king founder of the dynasty..." The sage Bhṛgu is said to have performed the same service for Uroja, founder of the dynasty of Indrapura in Campā in A. D. 875<sup>6</sup>; Kauṇḍinya, the legendary hero, is credited with having founded the kingdoms of Kamhuja and Funan, and Agastya, the legendary saint, seems to have performed a similar service for Java.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that the chief priest of Devarāja was either Śaivite or Viṣṇuite according to the religious leanings

1. *Ibid.*, No. 182, p. 515.

2. *Ibid.*, No., 148, p. 351, verse 11.

3. *Ibid.*, No., 182, p. 515.

4. *Ibid.*, No. 23, p. 29.

5. *Ibid.*, No. 148, p. 355, verse 15.

6. M. K. Sharan, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-92.

7. G. Coedes, *Cahiers de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi, 1938, pp. 14 : 40-48.

8. R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, Vol. I, (Campā), Lahore, 1927, pp. 82-83.

9. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Agastya*, TBG, 76:471-545, pp. 500-503.

of the monarchs : for instance, Brāhmaṇa Kṛṣṇapāla Amarendra, called Keśava Bhaṭṭa, is said to have been the chief priest of the worship of Viṣṇu during the reign of Jayavarman III, a Viṣṇuic king (his posthumous name being Viṣṇuloka).

The function of the *hotar* sometimes included that of a *guru* and the closest associates of the monarchs were invariably the chief *Purohita* or *hotar* who was assisted by other *hotars*, the *guru* and ministers. These *purohitas* and *gurus* used to be well versed in the *śāstras*. In fact, several of the royal priests in later times seem to have been of the royal line because of the practice of the monarchs "who took the precaution of binding the *Purohita* to the royal family by marriage"<sup>1</sup> Śūryavarman I (1011 A. D.) also is said to have taken this cautious step while making a member of the Śaivite Śivācārya as Royal Chaplain.<sup>2</sup>

From the above it would be clear that there existed vital connection between monarch and Brāhmanism, and although Buddhism soon became the religion of the people as well as of their rulers, Brāhmanical consecration formula was still essential to the monarchy. The chanting of these mantras or formulae were mostly observances for which Buddhism had not provided, "for the observances were such as Buddha would have classed them among the 'low arts', nevertheless public opinion and perhaps the higher echelons themselves had greater confidence in the skill and power of the Brāhmanas.

In Phnom-penh there are Brāhmanas in the royal court who are called *Paragnas*, and they are entrusted with the guarding of the royal court. Though they have now married local women and are slowly being assimilated with the population at large, they are still carrying on the task of the worship of their deities in their own fashion. They still

1. G. Coedès, *Les États Hindouïses d'Indochine et d'Indonésie, Histoire du Monde*, Vol. VIII, Paris, 1919, p. 187.
2. S. Singaravelu, *op. cit.*, 31-32.

wear *dhotīs* (*sa kaccha*) in north Indian fashion and long white coats with closed collars. Some of them observe even now the holy days of fast when they abstain from non-vegetarian food.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the Brāhmaṇas had almost become an inseparable part of the cultural life of Kambuja whose importance in all walks of social and religious life was unreservedly acknowledged and whose advice was listened to with great veneration. The Vat Prah Enkosei inscription refers to the Brāhmaṇas, famous for their heroism with subtle and penetrating lustre, who had "dissipated the darkness of evil" and possessed deep knowledge of the Vedānta and who were "free from passions, disinterested, faithful to their deity, manifested examples of the sight perfection of *yoga*, guided by the movement of the Sun, uninterruptedly moistened by the nectar of meditation and profoundly versed in the *Veda* and *Vedāṅga*".<sup>2</sup>

#### COMPĀ (VIETNAM) :

Like Cambodia, Campā was also fully imbued with the Brāhmaṇical culture which is evident from the tremendous influence that Sanskrit language and literature exerted on the royalty as well as the commoners. Almost all the kings of Campā, probably without any exception, took personal interest in the cultivation of Sanskrit language and literature including the two epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>3</sup>

From the details of marriage-ceremony as recorded in the Chinese texts we learn that Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas played a very active role in social and cultural life of the people. Marriage ceremony as performed in Campā in early periods bore a close resemblance to that of India, and the match-makers, as in India, were invariably the Brāhmaṇa astrolo-

1. K. S. Lal (ed.), *Studies in Asian History*, p. 182.

2. *IC*, Vol. 22, t25; V, 176.

3. For other details see Dawee Dawceewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 215 ff.

gers who settled the preliminaries. He arrived at the bride's house with some presents such as gold, silver and jewels and two pitchers of wine and fish. After the proposal was agreed to by the other side, he settled an auspicious day for the ceremony, for the ceremony would take place on certain *tithis* (dates), as in India. On the fixed day friends and relations of both the bride and the bridegroom gathered at their respective houses and indulged in joyous festivities amid dance and music. Then the bridegroom went to the house of the bride, and the Brāhmaṇa priest after introducing the bridegroom to her, joined their hands together and recited the sacred *mantras* which marked the end of the ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

Though we have no detailed account of the activities of the Brāhmaṇas in the royal court of Campā, as we have in the case of other South-East Asia countries, the stray references to the role of the Brāhmaṇas in social and religious matters clearly point to their significant place in Campā, as in other countries.

#### MALAYA ARCHIPELAGO (INDONESIA)

After the commercial intercourse of the first century and the traces of a somewhat deeper penetrating Indian influence from the beginning of the second century, colonisation appears to have become an accomplished fact in the fourth century A. D. and by the beginning of the fifth century A. D. Brāhmaṇism had already firmly implanted itself in the Malay Archipelago. From Fa-hien's account (414 A.D.) we learn that in Java "flourish the heretics and the Brāhmaṇas but the doctrine of Buddha is hardly worth mentioning." In other words, the Chinese pilgrim found manifestly a Hinduised society consisting mainly of the Brāhmaṇas who formed the great majority. Similarly, Huen-tsang also frequently denominates the Brāhmaṇas and heretics beside each other, and reckons the Śaivite sect of

1. For other details see, *Ibid.*, p. 217 ff.

2. G. Giles, *The Travels of Fa hien*, London, 1923, p. 78.

Paśupatas to be under those heretics, at least in one passage. A very strong Brahmanic tradition is noticeable in the Indonesian society which under its official Hindu-exterior preserved the Indonesian peculiarities in "strong measure and represented the peculiarities so clearly even in the highest functions of public administration."<sup>1</sup> This fellowship between a strong attachment to Hinduism and the emergence of Indonesian elements in the highest functions of the State is not to be viewed as the result of a reaction. It is rather the natural manner by which the existing Indonesian organisation adapted itself to the voluntarily and convictionally adopted superior culture of the foreigners who had become their country-fellows.<sup>2</sup>

The Brahmana as a representative of Indian culture finds his Javanese counterpart in the Brāhmaṇa Tritresta "who would have brought his religion and time-calculation in Java and whose son would have been a king there; a different tradition ascribes the time-calculation, even as the Javanese alphabet, to a certain India-arrived *Aji Śaka*, a lucid name which signifies no other than the Śaka era itself."<sup>3</sup>

We have two most valuable Old-Javanese chronicles the *Nagarakṛtāgama* and the *Pararatan* from which we get some information about the role of the Brāhmaṇas in Javanese court as well as in society. The *Pararatan* (*Book of Kings*, composed in 1613 A. D.) narrates the story of kings from Ken Angrok, the ancestor of the Majapahit the ancestor of the Majapahit monarchs to the fall of the Majapahit empire in 1478 A.D. The *Nagarakṛtāgama* though starts from the same period stops in 1365 A.D. during the reign of Hayam Wuruk. Its author was Prapañca, a learned Brāhmaṇa who received patronage as the court-poet of that great monarch.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XVI (1957) Calcutta, pp. 31-32.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 32.

3. For details, Reille, *History of Java*, Vol. II, p. 66 ff.

4. B. R. Chatterji, *History of Indonesia*, Meerut, 1867, p. 25.

In the *Pararatan* we have a graphic description of the adventures of Ken Angrok who is said to have ousted the Kediri king, Kṛtājaya from the throne and became ruler instead. But, more interesting than this is the specimeo of priestly peneegyric which tells us that one day while Ken Angrok was sitting in a gambling den, he met a Brāhmaṇa who had come from India for the the sole purpose of meeting him as he had come to know from supernatural sources that Lord Viṣṇu had incarnated himself in Java in the person of Ken Angrok. In another passage Ken Angrok is described as the son of Brahmā and a near relation of Śiva. It was with the help of this Brāhmaṇa that Ken Angrok got into the service of the prince of Singasāri, killed the prince and siezed the throne and later married the queen of the prince, who was as beautiful as Padmini.<sup>1</sup> The legend clearly points to the influence of the Brāhmaṇa priests in the Javanese court during the Majapahit days.

In fact, the beginnings of the Brāhmaṇical influence in Indooesia are indeed shrouded in mystery. It is ooly from the inscriptions of the fifth century A. D. that we learn that Sanskrit and Brāhmaṇical religion had already found their way into the archipelago." We have no positive information about the factors that led to the introduction of Brāhmaṇic culture, nor do we know the names of those Brāhmaṇa teachers and scholars who inspired king Mūlavarmā of Kutei to eternise the performance of a *bahusu-varṇaka* sacrifice through erection of stone *yūpas* and eograving seven inscriptions thereon which also refer to other sacrifices and donations. But, there is no doubt that the inscriptioos do point to the dominance and influence of the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas in the royal court of Java and Borneo. This is further attested to by the legal system of Java which was mainly of Brāhmaṇical origin, though

1. B. R. Chatterji, *op. cit* , p. 25.

2. Coedès, *Les états hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, p. 33ff; Bernet Kemper, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, p. 8 ff.

modified by local tradition. The written law-codes in Java and Bali closely resemble the *Dharmaśāstras* or *Smṛtis*, the Brāhmaṇical law-books, both in form and substance.<sup>1</sup> The cult of Agastya in Java and the erection of a sanctuary for him as mentioned in Dinaya inscription (760 A. D.) probably attest to the intimate relations between the dynasties in power and the cult of Śiva liṅga as well as close connections between the court-Brāhmaṇas and the Liṅga cult.<sup>2</sup> This supposition is indirectly corroborated by an information contained in an old Javanese poem—*Harivaṃśa* (c. 1150 A. D.) about a royal poet, probably also a court-Brāhmaṇa—who is said to be an incarnation of sage and his patron, being an incarnation of Viṣṇu.<sup>3</sup>

After the fall of the Majapahit empire at the hands of the Muslim conquerors, Hindu culture sought refuge in Bali which played the same role as the last refuge of Hinduism in Indonesia as Tibet did for Buddhism in India.<sup>4</sup> According to tradition, a number of Śaiva Brāhmaṇas came to Majapahit (probably from India) just before its fall and fled to Bali. The Brāhmaṇas of Bali trace their descent from Paṇḍa (Paṇḍita), Vahu Ravuh—a name which means 'the newly arrived.' In fact, the five subdivisions of Brāhmaṇas in Bali are supposed to have descended from him and his wife.

The Brāhmaṇisation of Bali was so complete that even now "the traveller finds himself surrounded by a real Indian atmosphere." According to Swellengrebel, "Many recent Balinese books treat religion, philosophy, ethics, worship, all in the Hindu vein....There is little possibility today of a flight to Islam".<sup>5</sup> Sylvain Levi divides the old Sanskrit

1. For further details see Dawce Dawceworn, *op. cit.*, p. 265 ff.
2. F. D. K. Bosch, *De Sanskrit inscriptie on den steen Van Diraja en*, *Vokenkunde*, 57, p. 410 ff & 64, p. 227 ff.
3. *Harivaṃśa* (ed. & tr.) by Teeuw, A. I. 2; 53, 1 ff.
4. G. Coedes, *Les États Hindouïstes...*, p. 315.
5. Swellengrebel (ed.), *Bali: Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual*, see Editor's Introduction.

texts found in Bali into the following categories—(i) *Veda* (not the real *Veda*, but the text known as the *Nārāyaṇātharvaśīrṣopaniṣad*; (ii) *Āgama* (*Dharmaśāstra* literature); (iii) *Variga* (*Jyotiṣa*); (iv) *Upadeśa*, (v) *Kāṇḍa* (grammar), (vi) *Usada* (medicinal literature); (vii) *Itihāsa* (including *Kakvin*, i. e., Vernacular *Kāvya*s in Sanskrit metres and Kidung or Vernacular verses in native metres), (viii) *Babāds* (historical works), and (ix) *Tantris* (tales). While describing these different categories of Sanskrit works Sylvain Levi remarks : "If he (the traveller) happens to be admitted into the house of a local priest (*Padaṇḍa*) he will witness a regular *Sandhyā* (one of the names of goddess Durgā or evening) prayer, he will hear Sanskrit *mantras* recited in the Indian fashion accompanied with the regular accompanishments of *Mudrās* (mystic gestures). His wonderment which reaches climax when he becomes aware that those people....do not understand the Sanskrit texts which they read and chant."<sup>1</sup>

Another point of great significance in this connection is the main Balinese temple, Pura Basuki in which Mahādeva is the deity worshipped. We are told that in March 1963 when in a centenary ceremony, the *Ekādaśa Rudra* was to be performed in Pura Basuki, the long silent Gunung Agung (volcano) suddenly erupted. "As the priests, decked in magnificent robes, were going through the rites, the mountain roared, and black smoke rushed up in awe-inspiring columns. It was decided to send a special group of priests up to the crater to appease the mountain god."<sup>2</sup>

In other words, the Brāhmaṇas had, and have even now, in Bali the highest status in the society or in the hierarchy of the four *Varṇas*, the next being the king and there being no outcastes. In the communal or religious gatherings the Hindus take their seats *Varṇa* wise; the

1. *Sanskrit Texts from Bali* (ed.) with an Introduction by Sylvain Levi (Gaikwad Oriental Series, Vol. LXXVII, 1933).
2. Cf. A. Mathews, *The Night of Purnama*, 1965; B. R. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 38.



Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas to the north and the rest to the south and west, but in ordinary functions such as National Day celebrations no such distinctions are maintained. "Śarmā" was most common surname of the Brāhmaṇas in Bali till the ninth century A.D.<sup>1</sup>, and *Pundit* (*Paṇḍita*: learned) among the Brāhmaṇas was most venerated by the kings and the commoners alike when Bali was independent. Only the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas could move about holding his *daṇḍa*, popularly known as *Padaṇḍa*, meaning 'the holder of the sceptre of *dharma*'. He would not take meat though other Brāhmaṇas and even the members of his family could take it<sup>2</sup>. "He would not visit any body's house uninvited, not even the king's palace or court, and when invited the inviter had to go to him personally and accompany him along with his other relations, forming a procession, so to say, from the Paṇḍita's house to his own."<sup>3</sup> The *Pundit* (*Paṇḍita*) sitting exclusively on a decorated high pedestal (which would be higher than even the seat of the king), would preside over all ceremonies, whether in a temple or in any one's house and the *pujārī* (*pemangku*) and or other Brāhmaṇas would act according to his directions there.<sup>4</sup> The Paṇḍita alone knows the Sanskrit *mantras*, recites them and also decides what should be the auspicious day for holding a ceremony which is final. Now, there are only a few Paṇḍitas in Bali who are very rich and it is interesting to note that the Paṇḍitas would never ask for gifts or money, but it is customary for every body to offer by leaving some money near him of which the Paṇḍita takes only a portion as he chooses and leaves the rest "as a token of his refusal". But, in temples the *pemangku* (*Paṇḍita*) is a paid public servant whose main duty is to perform daily worship to the

1. Dambang Sumadin (ed), *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, 11, Jakarta, p. 171.
2. I. G. P. Phalgunadi, "Hinduism in Bali", *South-East Asian Perspectives*, Vol. I No. 1, 1984, p. 48.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

deities. Any private household, if he so wishes, can also engage a *pujārī* for worshipping the family deities, for every Hindu house in Bali has even now its own temple of family deities, besides the public temples for each village and each district, apart from the special built temples which constitute a great attraction for all Balinese.

Another interesting feature which we come across in Bali is the institution of *Varṇa*-priests in each *varṇa* who perform rituals for their particular clan, and not for the whole *varṇa*.<sup>1</sup> Though there are no castes like *jāti* in India, there is, however, sub-division in the *varṇa*, *vaṃśa*-wise or *gotra*-wise or on the basis of the place or origin such as the "Brahminklings".<sup>2</sup> Similarly there are also *Pujārīs* who worship the family deities of their own *varṇa*. Moreover, there are also non-Brāhmaṇa *Pujārīs* who are engaged in doing the daily worship of some of the minor deities in public temples or inside a public temple complex. But, then a *Tāntrika Sadag* (*sādhaka*) can be of any *varṇa* who is revered by virtue of his reputation as an austere saint and foreteller.<sup>3</sup>

The above discussion unmistakably points to the tremendous influence the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas exerted in Indonesia, particularly in Java and Bali. Though we have a few names of such scholars from Sanskrit literature and inscriptions, and their number is much smaller than that in similar records found in Kambuja and Campā, we know something about the great role the Brahmanas in general played in the evolution and growth of culture in those lands. It is true, the historical informations we obtain from these inscriptions are comparatively meagre, nonetheless they commemorate almost without exception, occasions of building of temples or of pious donations. The Javanese inscriptions do not mention the Pallavas, but Kañcīpuram, the capital of the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Pallavas, is mentioned in the Old Javanese chronicle *Nagarakṛtāgama* which was composed by poet Prapañca, in honour of Hayam Wuruk, the king of Majapahit, in Śaka 1287 (1365 A. D.). In the 93rd canto of his poem the poet says, of course with some exaggeration, that all Paṇḍitas in other countries composed eulogies in honour of his patron who, among others, included the illustrious Bhikṣu Buddhāditya who lived in Jambūdvīpa (India Kāñcīpura with six *vihāras*<sup>1</sup>). It appears from this description that the "Trusted Five" (the Cabinet of Majapahit), consisted of all *Ārya* (the learned Brāhmaṇas), besides the two Chief Judges who were "so *Ārya* as to deserve imitation",<sup>2</sup> and the Ṛṣis and the Brāhmaṇas who thronged his court.

As we know, the penetration of Hindu culture in Far East took place along the peaceful lines of trade and traffic. As noted above, Fa-hien found Brāhmaṇas settled in Ye-po-ti (Yavadvīpa or Java) and "the merchants on the vessel which brought the pilgrim home from his long voyage were partly at least—he says so, Brāhmaṇas."<sup>3</sup> In the Kotei inscriptions (one of the earliest documents in the Archipelago referring to Indian civilisation) of Mūlavarman, the celebrated king of Java, the Kotei stones are described as *Yūpa* (sacrificial posts—generally made of wood). We have only three instances of stone *yūpas*, the earliest one being set up by a Brāhmaṇa near Mathurā in the reign of Vāsiṣṭha (c. 102 A. D.), which is an exact copy in stone of the actual sacrificial post used in ancient India corresponding exactly to the description of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The second and third stone *yūpas* are in Bijāgarh (372 A. D.) and Mysore (undated) respectively. The Kotei *yūpas*, however, are not copies of the wooden *yūpa* of the Vedic ritual: on the other hand, they are four roughly dressed stones of irregular shape. But, they definitely represent sacrificial posts

1. B. R. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

2. B. R. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

which is clear from the inscriptions which state that the creation of these *yūpas* was due to the assembled twice-born (*dvija*) priests to whom king Mūlavarman had bestowed rich gifts in gold, cattle and land. Thus, here we meet with the Brāhmaṇas who had carried their ancient civilisation to Borneo as well as to Java and Sumātrā. This is further corroborated by the Tugu inscription (West Java) of Pūrṇavarman which speaks of his gift of a thousand cows to the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>1</sup> In the Dinaya inscription (Central Java) king Gajayana is eulogised as "the benefactor of Brahmanas, the worshipper of Agastya (the great sage) with the help of the ascetics and his nobles caused to be constructed the lovely Maharṣibhavana "...in which the image of Agastya Kumhlayoni was consecrated in the Śaka year 682 (760 A. D.)" with the assistance of the officiating priests (Brāhmaṇas) versed in the Vedas etc."<sup>2</sup> The concluding lines of this inscription tend to suggest that blessings should be showered "on the descendants of Agastya who were living in Java." Though we cannot be very certain about this statement in the inscription, there is no doubt that the Agastya cult was prevalent in the island. It has been rightly pointed out by Bosch that in Campā, Kamhuja as well as in Java we find a tradition tracing a close connection between a Śiva-liṅga, a famous Brāhmaṇa and the ruling dynasty. While in Kamhuja it is king Jayavarman II and the Brāhmaṇa Hiraṇyadāma who introduced the Cult of Devarāja (Śiva); in Campā it is Uroja, the traditional ancestor of the royal dynasty and also the introducer of the Śiva-liṅga cult and in Java it is Agastya—suggesting clearly a common origin for all this which is also to be found in the *Devadāru Mahātmya* in the *Skanda Purāṇa*.<sup>3</sup>

1. For Text and Trans. see B. R. Chatterji, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-32.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-42.

3. B. R. Chatterji, *op. cit.* p. 148.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 142; also see *Infra*, p. 38.

## BURMA

Though a Buddhist country, Burma could not escape the influences of Brāhmaṇical religion. From the records and finds of a number of images we know that there was a considerable number of followers of the Brāhmaṇical religion<sup>1</sup>, not exclusively Brāhmaṇas, but of other three castes as well. Some of the place-names of both Upper and Lower Burma unmistakably point to the Brāhmaṇical influence there. For instance, one such name is Bissunomyo (or Viṣṇupura or the City of Viṣṇu)—a name applied to Old Prome or Hmawza, a centre of Vaiṣṇavite influence. The *Mahayazawin*, a late Burmese chronicle, associates the foundation of the ancient city of Prome with Viṣṇu and his *vāhana* (vehicle) Garuḍa, as also with Caṇḍī and Parameśvara (Durgā and Śiva) respectively.<sup>2</sup> The *Mahayazawin* does not mention the name of Viṣṇu directly, but refers to a *ṛṣi*. This tradition is probably an adaptation from Talaing records. But, while doing so it has retained only the epithet *ṛṣi*—of the founder of the city and does not mention the name of the *ṛṣi*. That the name of the *ṛṣi* was Viṣṇu is evident from the early Mon records most of which record the story of the foundation of Sisit or Śrīkṣetra, the sacred name of modern Puri in some detail.<sup>3</sup>

These instances clearly point to the existence of a considerable number of Brāhmaṇical population (mainly Vaiṣṇavite in creed) in Burma at an early period. They had their own gods whom they worshipped in accordance with their own religious rites. The Old Hmawza, known as Bissunamyō or Viṣṇupura, seems to have been a prominent centre of the Brāhmaṇas, during the 6th-7th centuries A. D.

1. For a detailed study see Upendra Thakur, "Elements of Hindu Culture in Burma", in *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, p. 421ff.
2. *An. Rep. Arch. Survey of Burma*, 1910, p. 18.
3. Cf. the Inscription Shwezigon Pagoda in *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 90ff; For other details see Dawee Daweewarn, *op cit.*, p. 6<sup>a</sup>, 73-80ff.

where different types of images of Lord Viṣṇu, along with those of Brahmā, Gaṇeśa and other Brāhmapical deities have been found in large numbers.<sup>1</sup>

The early Mon records are full of references to the Brāhmaṇas who officiated as priests in all the religious ceremonies of the royal court. This is not at all surprising as we know that these Brāhmaṇas always played an active and influential role in the royal courts from Burma to Campā as well as in Java, Sumatra and Bali, no matter whether the religion was Brāhmapism or Buddhism. These Brāhmaṇas in the Buddhist courts of Burma were evidently worshippers of Viṣṇu who is also mentioned as Nārāyaṇa in the early Mon records. The Tharaha Gate inscription<sup>2</sup> has numerous references to Brāhmaṇas in connection with king Kyanzittha's royal anointment. They are mentioned as being constantly engaged in bringing water of lustration in vessels of gold, silver, brass and earthen ware. The inscription also says that they invariably worshipped Nārāyaṇa before they performed any priestly duty :

“(At) all these seventeen places they (Brāhmaṇa astrologers) made a decoration of plantains and adorned with young plantains (and) sugarcane (and set ?) water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver (and) water (in) conch-shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dūbha* grass (and) spread mats (with) golden flowers, altar oblations and altar caudles. Having (arranged them ?) they made in honour of Nārāyaṇa, a decoration of plantain (called) ‘Oxnose’ adorned with young plantains (and) sugarcane (and) within it (set) boiled rice in cup-shaped vessels with candles stuck in it, (and) altar oblations, (and) they....(brought ?) water (in) vessels of gold (and) silver, spread mats (and) offered . golden flowers (and) altar candles ?). Then the Brāhmaṇa astrologers wor-

1. U. Thakur, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture*, Chap. XXII. For other details see Dawee Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 68 ff.
2. *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. III, pt. I (Mon Ins. No. I).

shipped Nārāyaṇa. At the auspicious...*godhūli* (being) *lagna*, the expert Brāhmaṇa astrologers bathed the side pillars, the *yaś* pillars, etc..."<sup>1</sup>

"The expert Brāhmaṇa astrologers wore loin cloths, *sukhoy cindraw* (and) *sukhoy ular* with *kucom* skirts of white. Then they went and worshipped Nārāyaṇa (at) all the ten points; they made decorations of plantains (and) altar oblations; water (in) vessels of gold and silver, (and) water in conch-shells wherein (they) put cleaned rice (and) *dūbha* grass, they arranged nearby."

It is interesting to note that this ceremonial is detailed again and again in the inscription almost invariably in the same form which unmistakably points to the wide popularity of Nārāyaṇa worship with all its peculiar rites among the Brāhmaṇas. From the context of the inscription it is clear that this was an indispensable item of all court ceremonies. The repeated mention of the god, Nārāyaṇa, in the inscription shows that he was daily worshipped by the Brāhmaṇas in Burma, as in India, which is further confirmed by the remains of the only extant temple in Pagan, known locally as Nāt-hluang Kyaung, in which there were once housed, images of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu and of the God himself.

This mention of Nārāyaṇa-worship probably refers to the worship of Nārāyaṇa-śilā.<sup>2</sup> As one knows, the Nārāyaṇa-śilā was, and still is, the most important object of daily worship in every orthodox Brāhmaṇa house, both in north and south India, and probably the god was like-wise worshipped by the emigrant Brāhmaṇa, especially on the eve of their performing priestly duties.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

2. *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. III, pt. I, p. 44.

3. *South Indian Images*, p. 70.

4. Dawee Dawee warn, *op. cit.*, p. 84; *Ann. Rep. A. S. Burma*, 1902-03, p. 7.

An inscription recording the erection of the Viṣṇu temple at Pagan, referred to above, informs us that a Vaiṣṇava saint, named Irayiran Siriyan, a resident of Magodayarpattanam<sup>1</sup> in Mali Maṇḍalam and a disciple of Śrī Kulaśekbara "made a *maṇḍapa*, gave a door" in the temple of Nānādeśi Vinnagara Alavar at Pukam<sup>2</sup>, i. e., Arivattanapuram." According to Hultzsch, "Nānādeśi Vinnagara means the Viṣṇu temple of those coming from various countries. This name shows that the temple was situated in the heart of the Buddhist country of Burma and had been founded and was resorted to by Vaiṣṇavas from the various parts of the Indian peninsula."<sup>4</sup> The influence of the Brāhmaṇas was so great in the Pagan Court that king Anawrahta allowed this prerogative (of establishing a temple of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu) to the most honoured Brāhmaṇa priests of his court who approached him with their request and whom the king did not want to displease.<sup>5</sup>

A study of the early Mon records, as shown above, clearly speaks of the great reverence in which the Brāhmaṇas were held in Buddhist courts of Burma. We have an interesting story of one of the most celebrated kings of the Pagan dynasty—Kyanzittha who in his former births was once Viṣṇu, and on another occasion was born in the family of Rāma, king of Ayodhyā.<sup>6</sup> The legend is unique in as much as it shows a distinct blending of the Buddhist theory of re-birth with purely Brāhmaṇical legends. Moreover, we come across a remarkable portion of loan words of Sanskrit

1. Magodayarpattanam in Male Mandalam is Cranganore in Malabar, South India.
2. Pukam is Pugama of the Kalyani inscription (Pukhan or Pagan of Chinese travellers).
3. Arivattanapura is Arimathanapura, another name of the royal city of Pagan.
4. Quoted Dawce Dawcewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 91; *An. Rep. A. S. Burma*, 1932-33, p. 7.
5. Dawce Dawcewarn, *op. cit.* p. 92.
6. *Epi. Birminica*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 76.



origin in early Mon records which definitely accounts for the presence of a large number of Brāhmaṇas who, as we have noted above, played a very significant part in all the Indo-Chinese courts from Burma to Campā.<sup>1</sup> An essentially Brāhmanical custom was made use of in a Buddhist coronation ceremonial presided over by Brāhmaṇa priests when the different pillars, referred to in the Tharaba gate inscriptions,<sup>2</sup> were bound by sacred Brāhmanical threads in a hundred and eight spools. "The thread wherewith they bound up the pillars, tender maidens, young damsels, daughters of Brāhmaṇas had spun (it and) made (it on) a hundred and eight spools. Then the Brāhmaṇa astrologers recited and sprinkled water and after that they bound up pillars."<sup>3</sup>

These and numerous other similar references clearly indicate the existence of a considerable number of Brāhmaṇas in Burmese courts as priests, astrologers and experts in house-building who occupied a very prominent position among the nobles and courtiers. While solemnly declaring his pious wish, a king says: "All the monks shall be full of virtue and good conduct. All the Brāhmaṇas who know the *Vedas*, they shall fulfil all the Brāhmaṇa Law. All the princes shall carry out the law altogether. The 'four castes' shall fulfil their law also."<sup>4</sup> Blagden, however, believes that the mention of 'four castes' is a merely conventional phrase used to denote 'people in general' and there is "no reason to believe that apart from Brāhmaṇas who were of foreign introduction, any real division into castes was recognised."

1. For other details see Dawee Dawcewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

2. *Ep. Birminica*, Vol. III, pt. i.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, Mon. Ins. No. 1, See. G., p. 127.

5. *Ep. Birminica*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 75. For a detailed study of Brahmanic elements in Burma, see Dawee Dawcewarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-23; U. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 421 ff.

There are even now in Rangoon and Mandalay residential quarters of Brāhmaṇas, which are called *Pona-basti*. As noted above, many of these people practised in early times as astrologers and held important positions in the royal court of Burma.<sup>1</sup>

It would not be out of place to mention here that the Burmese law-books or *Dharmmathātā*<sup>2</sup>, which are still recognised as legal authority regulating inheritance and other domestic matters, are essentially Brāhmaṇic in origin. They do not in the least betray any trace of Sinhalese influence "although since 1750 there has been a decided tendency to bring them into connection with authorities accepted by Buddhism."<sup>3</sup> The earliest of these codes are those of *Dhammavilāsa* (1174 A. D.) and of Waguru, king of Martban (1280 A. D.), which, based on the authority of Manu, correspond pretty closely to the *Mānavadharmasāstra* or *Manusmṛiti* (the "Code of Manu") in matters of legal topics. Scholars generally believe that "the law-books, on which these codes are generally based, were brought from the east coast of India and were of the same type as the Code of Nārada (*Nāradasmṛiti*) which, of unquestioned Brāhmaṇic orthodoxy, is almost purely legal and has little to say about religion."<sup>4</sup> In subsequent years a subsidiary literature grew up embodying local decisions, summarised by a Burmese nobleman Kaingza (c. 1640 A. D.) in the *Mahārājajudhammathāt*, which earned for him the title of *Manurāja* by the king, and the name of Manu was connected with his code.<sup>5</sup> The Code superseded all the older law-books, and during the reign-

1. K. S. Lal (ed.), *Studies in Asian History*, p. 182.

2. Forchhammer, E., *Jardine Prize Essay*; Jolly, J. *Grundriss der Ind. Ar. Phil.*, 1896, pp. 41-44; M. H., *Pali Literature of Burma*, p. 83 ff.

3. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 66.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

5. Dawes Daweewarn, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

period of Alompra who "remodelled his administration, several other codes came to be formulated which also preserved the name of Manu."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Eliot, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 67.

III

BUDDHIST MISSIONARIES



The story of the spread and dissemination of Buddhism in South-East and East Asia is a thrilling story of Indian Buddhist missionaries whose brilliant exploits in those far-off lands constitute a fascinating chapter in the cultural history of the world. These missionaries undertook the perilous journey through different routes and it is to them that the cultures of those countries are deeply indebted. Unfortunately the early Indian records have almost nothing to say about the activities of these noble sons of India. It is from the Chinese chronicles as well as the epigraphic records of those lands that we know how their selfless work had built up a common civilization for nearly three quarters of the Asiatic continent. The friendly relation between India and these lands encouraged Indian missionaries to visit those areas in a great number and attract pilgrims from those countries to visit India.

The urge to propagate Buddhism in regions where it was unknown, was "a primitive urge in Buddhism"<sup>1</sup> which impelled monks to wander far and wide regardless of all hardships and privations. Mid Asia or Central Asia was in their orbit, and we have a few names on records of early Indian missionaries in this part of Asia and China.<sup>2</sup> But, we have no such record of missionaries who went to propa-

1. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

2. For details see Upendra Thakur, "Indian Buddhist Missionaries in Central Asia and China" in K. P. Jayaswal Comm. Vol., Patna, pp. 277-290; P. C. Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique Chinoise*, Tome, 1, p. 160.

gate Buddhism in South-East Asia. Like the Kamhuja inscriptions which give a long list of Brāhmana Paṇḍitas who adorned the court in various capacities, we have a few names of Buddhist missionaries in the epigraphic records of Indonesia (Malay Archipelago), but they are like a few drops in the vast ocean.

## BURMA

Though the political history of Burma begins from its Thai conquest, archaeological evidences confirm the existence of Buddhism there, both in faith and in institutional forms, long before the Thai came to rule over the land. We have many fantastic legends pertaining to the origin and development of Buddhism in Burma which find prominent mention in almost all Burmese chronicles.<sup>1</sup> While one legend identifies Thaton with *Suvaññabhūmi* (*Suvarṇabhūmi*) where Tissa's missionaries—Sona and Uttara were sent to propagate Buddhism, the other identifies *Suvaññabhūmi* with Chiangmai in Siam where Sona and Uttara are said to have come from Burma.<sup>2</sup> But, historically speaking, the first appearance of Buddhism in Burma may be seen among the Pyu people who, though not of Indian origin, had come under the influence of Indian civilisation at some stage of their history.<sup>3</sup> They had their kingdom round Hmawza (Old Prome) in Central Burma. How Buddhism spread among them is not known, but there is no doubt that as early as in the fifth century A. D., about five centuries before Anawrahta (Aniruddha), the first Burmese king of Burma who is regarded as a semi-legendary figure in the chronicles—there were

1. For details see Maung Tin and Luce, *Glass Palace Chronicle*, Burma Research Society, (2nd edn., 1960), pp. 1-3, 6-7, 30 etc.; Intro. p. xv; *Mahāvagga*, I.4.
2. See *Historians of South-East Asia*, School of Oriental and African Studies, Univ. of London, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 54. For the latest view, see Promsak Jernsawatdi, *op. cit.*, Chap. II.
3. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 52. For other details, p. 52 ff.

Buddhists in Burma and "the traditions of Pyu Buddhist city of Śrīkṣetra survived among the Burmans, incorporated later into their national chronicles."<sup>1</sup>

The remarkable trait of Burmese Buddhism is to attempt to transfer to the soil of Burma the important events and localities associated with Buddhism. The Burmese legends go so far as to describe the many places in the country visited by the Buddha and narrate the various episodes in his career as found in the scriptures which are supposed to have taken place in various localities in Burma. Sometimes the Buddha is also made "to prophesy the growth of important cities like Pagan and Mandalay"<sup>2</sup> Some of the ruling dynasties of Burma claim their descent directly from the Śākya clan of which the Buddha was a member, and to explain the origin of the royal family they adopt a Jātaka story with suitable modifications of localities.

As noted above, Sona and Uttara are claimed to have been the pioneers of Buddhism in Burmese and Siamese Buddhist legends, and different localities in those countries are believed to represent the venue of their missionary activities.<sup>3</sup> But, we have no reliable historical record of their activities in those countries. The Burmese chronicles record the story of a wandering Indian ascetic in the forest of Thaton, Shin Arhan by name, who was escorted by a huntsman to king Anawrahta at Pagan, who encouraged him to spread Theravāda Buddhism in his kingdom.<sup>4</sup> This ascetic turned out to be the wandering Buddhist monk Dhaminādassa by name, but he was known at the capital as Shin Arahan (Venerable Arhat).<sup>5</sup> When Buddhism in

1. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 246.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 19 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 19 ff.

4. *Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 71 ff.

5. *Shin* in Burmese is equivalent to *Thera* in Ceylon (signifying an elderly monk of high standing) and *arhan* is a variant of *arhat*.



India began to decline, the Mons maintained spiritual contact with South India and Ceylon, the land of Theravāda Buddhism. Shin Arhan was a disciple of the Kāñchi School who came to Pagan and met the king.<sup>1</sup> The distinctive and honorific designation of Shin Arhan was bestowed on him when his fame spread at Pagan. The king was so impressed with his worth that he appointed him as his own instructor in religion and as primate of the kingdom, with the result that "the king and all the people forsook their own opinions and were established in the Good Law."<sup>2</sup> The king under the guidance of this venerable Arhat took all possible steps to spread and consolidate Buddhism in Burma and "advanced the welfare of the religion, his own welfare and that of the generations of his sons, grandsons and great grandsons...."<sup>3</sup>

After the death of the king, Shin Arhan spent the remaining part of his life in instructing the Burmese people in Buddhism. The Ceylonese influence had not yet reached Burma and therefore it is difficult to say whether the religion preached by him was exactly the Theravāda Buddhism of Ceylon. It seems to be a "somewhat hybrid Mon-Thaton variety of Buddhism, combining in it the worship of Hindu deities and the practice of Hindu rituals."<sup>4</sup>

As we know, at the instance of Shin Arhan, king Anawrahta brought the scriptural texts from Thaton to Pagan "on the backs of 32 white elephants" which were preserved with great care and veneration at the capital. The Burmese chronicles inform us that it was Buddhaghosa, the great Indian Buddhist thinker who had brought those scriptures to Thaton from Ceylon in the time of the Ceylonese king Mahānāma. The Burmese *Glass Palace*

1. Kusalasaya Karuna, *Buddhism in Thailand: Its Past and its Present*, Buddhist Pub. Soc. Kandy (Ceylon), 1965, p. 8.

2. *Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. 71.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

4. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

*Chronicle* describes the activities of Buddhaghōṣa in a way as if he were an inhabitant of Burma who crossed the sea from the Burmese port of Bassein to the 'middle country' (Magadha) in India and then from there went to the island of Ceylon by sea.<sup>1</sup>

The identity of this Buddhaghōṣa is shrouded in mystery. From a study of the Burmese chronicles it is clear that in the minds of the writers of these chronicles he got definitely identified with the famous Pali scholar who was the author of the *Visuddhimagga* and commentaries on the Canon. He flourished towards the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century A. D. The life-story of this great scholar as described in the Ceylonese and Burmese legends, though parallel to some extent, is divergent. The *Culavamsa* records the Ceylonese legends which also find mention in the *Buddhaghosuppatti* (The Advent of Buddhaghōṣa), a Pali work written in Burma. But, not a word is said about Buddhaghōṣa's connection with Burma "nor of his presenting the works of Pali scripture to the king of Thaton—an event colourfully described in the Burmese chronicles."<sup>2</sup> The Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Dhammaceti of Pegu<sup>3</sup> which give a brief account of the development of Buddhism in Burma do not mention Buddhaghōṣa, nor is the story of his representation of books at Thaton referred to in this record. Thus, the evidence seems to be negative. It appears that some ancient monk of Burma brought these Pali Buddhist texts to Thaton at a time when Buddhism was spreading among the Mons, and that this monk was a namesake of the more famous Buddhaghōṣa who had gone to Ceylon from India to propagate the *dhamma* and wrote most of his works in Anurādhapura during the reign of king Mahānāma (A. D. 409-413) of Ceylon.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

2. *Ibid.*, 59.

3. Reginald Le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia*, pp. 53, 162.

4. For a detailed study cf. N. R. Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Ceylon*, Calcutta.

The capture of Thaton by Anawrahta was a very important event in the history of Buddhism in Burma which paved the way for wider intercourse between Burma and Ceylon and led to the birth of a vigorous Ceylonese monk-organisation in Burma called the *Siṃhala Saṃgha*, which later played a key role in diffusing and consolidating the Ceylonese Theravāda Buddhism throughout South-East Asia.<sup>1</sup> With the establishment of this Saṃgha there was a regular flow of monks from Burma to Ceylon and vice-versa. The Kalyāṇī inscriptions of king Dhammaceti of Pegu describe the enormous labour and expenditure involved in equipping two ships to carry in each a party of 22 monks for fresh ordination to Ceylon which was organised at Kalyāṇī (now Kelania). This became a regular cultural and religious intercourse between the two countries, as a result of which the Ceylon Theravāda Buddhism became the State-recognised faith of the Burmese people since the time of Dhammaceti. But, we have no such record of Indian Buddhist monks visiting Burma during this period. As we know, it was during the time of Kaṇṣka in the second half of the first century A. D. that the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism flourished in northern India which later spread to Cambodia, Sumatra and Java. It seems, a group of Indian monks from Magadha<sup>2</sup> tried to propagate the Mahāyāna sect in Burma and among the Mons all the way to Dvāravatī (Siam), but the teachings were not accepted by the people in those areas.

Thus, there was an extra-ordinary activity in religion, architecture, sculpture and painting and practically everything bears the stamp of Indian workmanship. Constant and intimate intercourse between India and Burma was an

1. For a detailed study see "Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Dhammaceti", *Epigraphia Burmanica*, Vol. III, pts 1-2; "Medieval Mon Records" (*Ibid.*, Vol. XII).
2. Damrongrajapubhab, Prince (2), *Monuments of the Buddha in Siam* (2nd edn.) Bangkok, 1973, p. 2.

important feature in the evolution of Burmese civilisation and we find "streams of merchants, artisans, soldiers and astrologers and Buddhist missionaries from India visiting and settling in different parts of Burma. On the other hand, the Burmese also visited India in large numbers to pay visit to holy shrines."<sup>1</sup>

#### SIAM & LAOS

It is generally believed that Buddhism was introduced in Siam (Thailand) during the reign of king Aśoka who is said to have sent missionaries to the various countries of South-East Asia. There are others who believe that Buddhism was introduced much later.<sup>2</sup> But, judging from archaeological remains and historical evidences it is clear that Buddhism came to Thailand when the country was inhabited by the racial stock of Thai people about 3rd century B. C. The great pagoda (*cetīya*) at Nagar Pathom Province and other historical findings testify to this fact that Buddhism reached Thailand in four waves at four different times in the forms of the Theravāda School of the Hīnayāna, the Mahāyāna School, the Hīnayāna of Pagan and the Ceylon Order.<sup>3</sup> Though we have a somewhat detailed record of how Buddhism spread to Thailand and became deep-rooted in the course of centuries, we do not know the part played directly by the Indian missionaries in the dissemination of this new culture in this land, except the hackneyed legendary account of Sona and Uttara.

As we know, the Mons were the original people of Siam who had settled in ancient times in the valley of Menom and along the lower reaches of its tributaries, known as Central Siam. Lopburi or Lopaburi was the centre of Mon life and culture. Dvāravati was yet another Mon kingdom to its south in the seventh century A. D.

1. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 249.

2. Kusalasaya Karuna, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

The second capital of Siam was named Dvāravatī—Ayudhya which was the kingdom of king Rāma I. These Indian names of Mon localities indicate that a source of Indian contact during 5th 6th centuries was open to the Mons of Central Siam through its south-pointing peninsular extension.<sup>1</sup> But, it is difficult to ascertain how far this inter-communication was on a cultural level. There is no doubt that it was from the south that both the Indian faiths—Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism—spread among the Mons, and Buddhism seems to have been more popular and more widespread. But, who were the Indian missionaries who planted this new culture on this new soil, we shall perhaps never know. In later times, however, a group of Indian monks from Magadha tried to propagate the Mahāyāna sect in Burma and among the Mons all the way to Dvāravatī which is evident from the discovery of the images of Boddhisattva Avalokiteśvara of Dvāravatī style showing that Mahāyāna had some adherents in Dvāravatī area around the 8th century. It had also some adherents at Pagan in Burma from the 11th to 13th century though both the places were predominantly Theravāda.

It would not be out of place to mention here that we have no mention of Indian Buddhist monks in the chronicles of South-East Asia, except those of Vietnam (Campā), which explicitly refer to a large number of Buddhist monks going from Burma, Mon, Siam, Cambodia and Laos to Ceylon to investigate the new sect of Buddhism, called "Ceylon Order" or "Laṅkāvaṃśa Buddhism"<sup>2</sup>, and to get ordained in the new Order. They also invited Ceylonese monks to their countries in order to strengthen the propagation of the Buddhist doctrine according to the Ceylon way. This 'Ceylon Order' was introduced in Siam for the first time in 1257 A. D., which paved the way for the regular intercourse between the Siamese and the Thai monks.

1. S. Dutta, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

2. Trinarong Prapat, *Buddhism in Thailand*, Bangkok, 1957, p. 18.

For the first time during the reign-period of king Loethai we have mention of a high priest named Phara Srisatharajajulamuni who is said to have gone to visit India and Laṅkā to study Buddha's teachings. He spent ten years in those countries and when he returned to Sukhothai, he brought with him the Buddha-relics and Bodhi tree from Laṅkā and constructed a large number of Buddhist structures such as pagodas, monasteries, sanctuaries, Buddha-images, Buddha-footprints and plantation of Bodhi trees. He was honoured with the title of *Phramahāsami Srisatharajajulamuni Sriratanalaṅkātepa*, i. e. the Lord Patriarch of Sukhothai.<sup>1</sup> We have no mention of any other Thai monk coming to India during this period.

As Ceylon was regarded in that age the "well of Buddhism undefiled" by the countries of South-East Asia, learned monks of that country were invited to Sukhothai.<sup>2</sup> Udambaragiri Saṃgharāja was one such eminent learned monk of Siam who is famous in the history of Siam for the alignment he gave to Siamese Buddhism to the Sinhalese Theravāda form. He belonged to the forest-dwelling Bhikkhu community of (*draṇṇaka*) of Ceylon who were looked upon as the model in Siam and were held in highest reverence. His arrival at Sukhothai was "the occasion for a grand and well-organised ovation."<sup>3</sup> Though a high ranking Sinhalese *thera*, it is difficult to say anything about the exact identification of this Saṃgharāja. He came probably from South India at a very young age and settled down in Ceylon where he devoted his whole life to the cause of Theravāda Buddhism.

#### LAOS :

A perusal of the history of Laos, "the land of the million elephants and of the white parasol" would show that

1. *A Group of Stone Inscriptions*, Pt. I, pp. 28-30,
2. Hirth, *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, pt. ii. p. 754.
3. G. Coedès, *Recueil des Inscriptions du Siam*, Vol. I, pp. 42-48, quoted Prince Dhaniwat, *A History of Buddhism in Siam*, p. 6.

the Thais spread to Laos which became a kingdom in the Upper Mekong Valley three years after the foundation of Ayudhyā in 1350 A. D. by Fa Ngum, the most outstanding figure and 'hero' of Laotian history. Brought up in his youth in the Angkor Court he had married the daughter of the Khmer king Jaynvarman Paramesvara (1327-57 A. D.). It was during the time of Jayavarman that Cambodia (Kambuja deśa) had come under the influence of Siamese kings. He is said to have exhorted Fa Ngum, his son-in-law, to rule over his dominion (Laos) according to Buddhist principles. Later a Ceylonese statue of the Buddha was installed by Fa Ngum at Luang Prahang, then in Laotian territory, who established the Ceylone school of Theravāda Buddhism as the state religion of Laos, which is practised in Laos in this form even today.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of time a considerable Buddhist literature grew up in Laos, and the *Paññasa jāataka*, a collection of fifty Jātaka tales in Pali in three versinns is a monumental example which was accomplished by the Laotian monk-scholars.<sup>2</sup> Though there was a frequent exchange of monks between Siam and Laos in early days, we have no mention of any Indian Buddhist monk going to Laos for the propagation of this religion. However, the Ceylonese Theravāda School of Buddhism is both studied and preached, though of late the religion has fallen on evil times on account of political upheavals there.

#### CAMBODIA :

When Burma and Siam came under Thai rule, Buddhism existed in these countries both as faith and culture. Having taken it from the conquered people, the Thai rulers raised Buddhism to the position of State religion, "erecting temples, pagodas and convents to perpetuate the

1. Virachith Keomanichanh, *India and Laos*, (ed. U. Thakur) New Delhi, 1981, pp. 60-65.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-65, S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

ministrations of the religion."<sup>1</sup> But, in Cambodia the situation was quite different. We do not exactly know about the religious beliefs and social customs prevalent among the Mon-Khmers of Cambodia before their conversion to Hinduism, but there is no doubt that Hinduism became the most predominant religion of the country not because the people welcomed it gracefully but because it came through the dominating influence of kings, priests and men of high rank in society. The state and society in Cambodia adopted the Hindu pattern, though Mahāyāna Buddhism had also a distinct place in this pattern. There were also persons among the royalty and the aristocracy who preferred Mahāyānist Buddhism as then understood and practised in India. It was under these conditions that the civilization of ancient Cambodia evolved but the Cambodians took no time in discarding it outright when Theravāda Buddhism appeared on the religious horizon of the country "as an independent religion, not like Mahāyānism, a faith that subsisted under the franchise of Hinduism."<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting to note that much before the advent of Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia there was not only a Buddhist population, but even Buddhists of high rank holding offices on commissions in Funan, a purely Hindu state, out of which Cambodia emerged as an independent kingdom under its original name, Kambuja. From the early annals of the land we learn that a king of Funan deputed one Nāgasena, the Indian Buddhist missionary who had made a brief sojourn at Funan while on way back to his country, to the court of the Chinese emperor in the 8th century A. D. The Chinese records inform us that Nāgasena reported to the Chinese emperor that Brāhmanism and Buddhism were flourishing side by side in Funan.<sup>3</sup> This clearly indicates that there existed a lively intercourse bet-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

2. S. Dutta, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

3. Reginald Le May, *op. cit.*, p. 112.



ween Funan and Kamhuja even after their separation, and if there were Buddhists in Funan, they must have been there in Kamhuja also.<sup>1</sup> From a study of the inscriptions we learn that their Mahāyānism was of purely Indian brand which had developed in India in contact with Hinduism, as a result of which there was little or almost no distinction between the developed Mahāyāna Buddhism and Hindu Brāhmaṇical religion. As some of the deities were interchangeable and the forms of worship alike, Mahāyāna Buddhism was easily accommodated within the frame-work of Hinduism and Hindu culture that prevailed in those countries of East Asia. As we know, some of the kings of Angkor were Buddhists who, while proclaiming their Mahāyānist faith in their inscriptions invoked the Buddha along with the Brāhmaṇical deities : or only the Buddhist trinity—the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṃgha. An inscription of Udayārkavarman, dated 939 shows how the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist deities were syncretically treated.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, a study of the Kamhuja inscriptions of the period clearly shows that there was “a total lack of awareness of any distinction between the divinities of Hinduism and those of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Their votaries were regarded not as belonging to two different religions, but representing two different sects. The custom of providing accommodation for Buddhists in the *āśramas* round the temples also indicates this attitude of mind.”<sup>3</sup>

From a study of the epigraphic records it seems that Buddhism had entered Cambodia as early as sixth century A. D. if not earlier. The Vat Prei Var inscription of Jayavarman I (587 A. D.) refers to two Indian Buddhist missionaries—Ratnabhānu and Ratnasena—who were autho-

1. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

2. For details see R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kamhuja*, p. 399; S. Dutt, *Monks and Monasteries of India*, pp. 195-97.

3. S. Dutt, *Buddhism in East Asia*, p. 93ff.

rised by the king to propagate their religion.<sup>1</sup> It was also during the reign of Jayavarman that two Buddhist monks of Funan-Saṃghabbadra (or Saṃgabapāla) and Mandrasena (or Mandra) had gone to China to translate the scriptures.<sup>2</sup> The former knew Sanskrit and many other languages and had come to Funan from India to spread the messages of the Lord.<sup>3</sup>

But it was during the time of Sūryavarman I (A. D. 1002-1048) that Mahāyāna Buddhism made great strides in Cambodia. He also made liberal donations to various āśramas including the *Saugatāśrama*, meant mainly for the Buddhists.<sup>4</sup> Though Rajendravarmān II could not be influenced by Buddhist doctrine and rejected it, he was not hostile to this religion. It is interesting to note that Kavindrārimathana, his great minister, was probably the first Buddhist minister of Indian origin in Kambaja who is credited with having constructed a new capital and religious centre at Yaśodharapura, where the kingdom later shifted, and also the first great Buddhist sanctuary—Vat Chum of the Angkor period.<sup>5</sup> Similarly Jayavarman V had also a Buddhist minister of Indian origin named Kirtti Paṇḍita who had also served under his father.<sup>6</sup> He put in maximum efforts to establish Mahāyāna Buddhism by bringing many treatises and commentaries on this sect. However, he does not seem to have achieved much success in his mission.<sup>7</sup>

1. R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 29, p. 38.

2. For details see W. Pachow, "The Voyage of Buddhist Missions to South-East Asia and the Far East", *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XVII, No. 1-2, 1958.

3. E. Aymonier, *Les Cambodge*, Vol. II, p. 142.

4. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

5. L. P. Briggs, *The Ancient Khmer Empire*, California, 1943, p. 241.

6. E. Aymonier, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 261-70, Vol. II, pp. 308-18.

7. Also see M. K. Sharan, *Studies in Sanskrit Inscriptions of Ancient Cambodia*, pp. 275-85.

It was during the time of Jayavarman VII (A. D. 1181-1201) that Mahāyāna Buddhism made tremendous progress. A Mahāyānist Buddhist of the same type as other Angkor kings, he was the famous builder of the Bayon temple where Viṣṇu and the Buddha are identified, though more usually the latter was identified with Śiva. An interesting thing we learn about him from the inscription is the existence of Buddhist convents among the *āśramas* at Angkor.<sup>1</sup> Devarāja cult seems to have lost favour with many of the rulers of Angkor who had now accepted Mahāyāna Buddhism. This change in the royal attitude led to the birth of another cult, the Buddharāja cult.<sup>2</sup> New names and titles like *Mahāparamasaṅgata Jayabuddha*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, *Nirvāṇapada* etc. now came to be adopted by the kings instead of *Paramarudraloka*, *Paramaviṣṇuloka* etc. This new trend was further responsible for the gigantic faces representing the *Bodhisattva*, *Avalokiteśvara*, *Lokiteśvara* etc. on the towers of Bayon, Bantay Kdei and Bomtay Chmar.<sup>3</sup>

It is, however, interesting to note that we have no such description of the establishment of the Buddharāja cult as we have in the case of the Devarāja cult in an inscription of Jayavarman II (A. D. 802-869) which relates how a Brāhmaṇa, named Hiraṇyadāma from India came to the king's court to perform the rites and other formalities related to it.<sup>4</sup> We do not know if ever a Buddhist preacher were invited from India in connection with the installation of this new cult.

The advent of Theravāda Buddhism in Cambodia brought about a revolutionary change in the socio-religious

1. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, (The Phnumnaka Inscription of Jayavarman, VII), p. 515ff.
2. For a detailed study of Devarāja Cult, see Hermann Kulke, *The Devaraja Cult*, New York, 1978.
3. Ly Kim Long, *An Outline of Cambodian Architecture*, Varanasi, 1957, p. 42.
4. R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.* (Ins. No. 188 of Indravarman, pp. 533-535).

life of the people, which is evident from an inscription (1230 A. D. ?) of Indravarman II, a Buddhist king, is a private temple.<sup>4</sup> Partly in Pali and partly in Khmer the inscription invokes the *triratna* (the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha) and mentions king Siri-Indavamma (Śrī Indravarman) who gave permission to a *upāsikā* (a lady, a lay devotee) to build a *vihāra* and instal a Buddha image. The king also donated four villages to the shrine and eight plots of land to the priests. The Khmer part of the text gives to the image the name 'Śrī Śrī Indra Mahādeva' and tries to bring the foundation into line with the Devarāja cult, though it was not at all a Śiva or Mahādeva temple. "The great significance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is written in the sacred language of Theravāda Buddhism and its text proclaims that the temple is intended for Buddha-worship (*Buddha-pūjā*)."<sup>5</sup> This significantly points to the coming of Theravāda Buddhism to Cambodia.

But, we do not know anything about its initial progress. We cannot say who were the pioneers, how was it propagated and how it reached in only a century's time "from poor men's cottages to the exalted throne of Angkor kings."<sup>6</sup> By the time king Jayavarman Paramesvara came to the throne in A. D. 1327, a century after the establishment of the Buddha temple, the religion was so well-established in Cambodia that in spite of his upbringing in the traditional faith and ideology of Angkor monarchy, he embraced the new religion of the people. We have noted above how he advised his son-in-law Fa Ngum of Laos to govern according to the Buddhist principles and gave him a gift of codex of Pali scripture. Another significant change during his reign was the acceptance of Pali as the official language, Sanskrit going practically out of use, though at Angkor itself the royal patronage of Sanskrit learning was retained, but without any zest or real purpose.

4. *Ibid.*, verso V.

5. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

It seems that unlike Mahāyāna Buddhism which was propagated by the Indian missionaries in Cambodia, the pioneers of Theravāda Buddhism were the Siamese monks, though it is vehemently denied by the Cambodian monks who are reluctant to give Siam the credit for introducing Theravāda Buddhism into their country. They are not prepared to accept that Chou Ta-Kuan's reference<sup>1</sup> is to the Siamese Buddhist monks.

Cambodia has at present two sects of Theravāda Buddhism which differ in certain forms of *Vinaya* observance, not in doctrines. The older is the *Mahānikāya* and the other is the *Dhammayūti* both regarding some Siamese texts as fundamental. The *Maṅgalatthadīpī* is an outstanding text (1469 A. D.) which was written by Siri Maogala (Śrī Maṅgala), a venerable monk, well versed in the three *piṭakas* and also a solitary meditator (*vivekavirata*) living in a solitary place at Navapura (Chiengmai, formerly in Laos, now in northern Siam) which deals mainly with Buddhist ethics. According to some scholars, the prestige this work enjoyed among the Buddhists of Cambodia definitely points to the continuing Siamese influence in that country. But, the Cambodian monks point out that as this work was written in Laos, and not in Siam, it may be properly treated as a Laotian rather than as a Siamese work. Moreover, a few old inscriptions of Cambodia testify to the existence of Theravāda Buddhism in the country long before 1230 A. D.<sup>2</sup>

This new faith brought about revolutionary changes in the outlook of the common people. Unlike the Mahāyāna Buddhism which had "existed only under the franchise and

1. Chou Ta-Kuan was a Chinese envoy who had gone to the Court of Angkor at the end of the 14th century. He has given a description of the Buddhist monks in Cambodia which is usually taken to refer to the Siamese Buddhist monks (D. G. E. Hall, *A. History of South-East Asia*, p. 115), Also S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

allowance of the Brāhmapical State-religion", it had come "independently to the people and stayed in its own right", and "struck at the roots of caste, priesthood and the cult of the divinity of kingship by its simple message of the power of *karma* (deed), unheard before by the Khmers."<sup>2</sup> The new faith emphasized the "worth of man as man, laid stress on *bhāvanā* (becoming) that is, the process of one individual's growing through self-culture and self-knowledge from more to more", and for "refuge in life's trials and tribulations, substitute for the old stone-hewn gods, the holy trinity of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha."<sup>3</sup>

The monk preachers of the new religion seem to have come mainly from South India and the Eastern coast who did not hesitate to undertake long journey by sea. They spread the message of the Buddha among the Mon population of the deltas of the Irrawaddy, the Salwin, the Chao-Phraya rivers and among the coastal plain of South Cambodia.<sup>4</sup> They were of a different breed from the high brow priests of the Mahāyāna sect. They were "simple and lowly, intimate with common people, sympathetic and helpful, and naturally more after their hearts."<sup>5</sup> They did not speak to them *ex cathedra*, but as men to men. Thus, the Theravāda Buddhism released the common people of Cambodia "from the service of the 'greedy gods' whose yoke had so long been so crushing a burden."<sup>6</sup>

#### INDONESIA :

From the available records we know that Buddhism had very little impact on the people of Indonesia till the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Fa-hian who had visited

1. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
4. M. K. Sharan, *op. cit.*, p. 227.
5. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

Java in c. 414 A. D. while giving an eye-witness account of the state of religioo there says; "In that land flourish the hereties and the Brāhmapas,<sup>1</sup> but the doctrine of Buddha is hardly worth mentioning."<sup>2</sup> It was due to the effort of the Indian monk, Guṇavarman that within twenty-five years of Fa-hiao's visit, the Hinayāna form of Buddhism was introduced into that country in the early part of the 5th century A. D.<sup>3</sup> This school of Buddhism must have existed till the end of the 7th century A. D. The observation made by I-tsing in this regard is very valuable. According to him, "most of the islands including Java (Ho-liu), Malayu or Śrīvijaya and Boroëo in the South Seas followed the Mūlasarvāstivādin and Sāṃmitīya Schools. There was not much of Mahāyāna Buddhism there except to a certain extent in Malayu (Sumatra or Śrīvijaya)."<sup>4</sup>

Thus, the inferior position of Buddhism in Java changed soon after the departure of the Chinese pilgrim, as the account of the preaching of Guṇavarman, which has been incorporated in the *Kao-seng-chw'en* ('biography of an eminent religious') of 519<sup>5</sup>, shows. This prince from Kashmir, taken into the Buddhist monks' Order, settled himself in Ceylon and from there set out for the land Cho-p'o (Java).<sup>6</sup> Supported by the queen-mother, he propagated Buddhism over the whole land. In 424 A.D. he again left Java on an invitation from the Chinese emperor and died at Nanking in 431 A. D.

1. Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, 1923, p. 78.

2. *S'i-yu-ki*, trans. S. Beal, Vol. I, 1906, p. lxxxi.

3. W. Pachow, *op. cit.*, p. 21; P. V. Bapat (ed.) *2500 Years of Buddhism*, Delhi, 1956, pp. 65-67.

4. Cf. J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and Malay Archipelago*, Chap. I.

5. Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires*, p. 274 ff; Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, 1904, pp. 193-206.

6. Cf. H. B. Sarkar, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XVI, No. 1-2, 1957, p. 22.

Guṇavarman translated a text of the sect of the Dharmaguptas, a sub-division of the Mūlasarvāstivāda school which, a couple of centuries later, as we find in I-tsing's reference, noted above, excluded almost every other text and was followed in the islands of the southern ocean, and that everybody there, with one small exception, adhered to Hīnayāna. This great expansion of the Hīnayānist Buddhism was surely, at least for the island of his special activities, an upshot of the advent of Guṇavarman.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, we find that the Hīnayāna form of Buddhism was prevalent all over Suvarṇadvīpa towards the close of the seventh century A. D. The next century, however, saw a great change, at least in Java and Sumatra. The Hīnayāna form was practically ousted by Mahāyāna which had a triumphant career in Sumatra and Java during the period of the Śailendra rule.<sup>2</sup> It became a very popular religion in Java and Sumatra among the masses. In Java it led to the erection of the world famous monument—the Stūpa of Borobudur and several other magnificent temples. In the Buddhist iconography of Java the entire hierarchy of the Mahāyānist gods makes its appearance. Thus, it may be safely presumed that as in the old days, Suvarṇadvīpa, on the whole, continued to be a strong centre of Buddhism whose international character gave it a status and importance and brought it into intimate contact with India, China and other Buddhist countries.

Sumatra, the "gold-island" such as it is now called,<sup>3</sup> followed like the rest of the Archipelago, almost exclusively

1. For details about Guṇavarman, see Upendra Thakur, "Indian Buddhist Missionaries in Central Asia and China". K. P. Jayaswal Com. Vol. Patna, 1981.
2. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Calcutta, 1963, p. 99.
3. Si-yu-ki, tr. Beal (1884), II, p. 200; Watters, *On Yuan Chuang's Travels*, II (1905) p. 187; *Memoires sur les contrées Occidentales*, tr. St. Julien, II (1872), p. 83.



the Hīnayāna practice, with one exception, Malayu (Śrīvijaya) where some people still adhered to the Mahāyāna form.<sup>1</sup> We know that Dharmapāla, a celebrated Indian Buddhist scholar of Mahāyāna taught in Sumatra.<sup>2</sup> He belonged to Kāñci (South India) and after teaching for thirty years at the famous University of Nālandā (7th century A. D.), repaired to Suvarṇadvīpa or Sumatra.<sup>3</sup> He was a contemporary of Huen-Tsang and was probably the same person whom I-tsing designates as a contemporary of Bhaṭṭhārī who died in A. D. 651-52.<sup>4</sup> Dharmapāla was a disciple of the famous Dignāga, the great Mahāyānist logician who, in his turn, was a disciple of a person no less than Aśaṅga, the founder of the philosophical school of the Yogācāryas. Thus, Dignāga must have lived before the sixth century<sup>5</sup>, and Dharmapāla should therefore be placed earlier than the seventh century. This will make him "merely a disciple in spirit, not in flesh, of the logician, in any case the foot-hold of the Mahāyāna can be brought in connection with his activity in Sumatra, and, in this way, he could have gathered about himself some disciples probably at Malayu."<sup>6</sup> It is remarkable to note that Dignāga is again cited as an authority in the domain of *Yoga* later in Javanese Mahāyāna which is so closely connected with the Mahāyāna prevalent in Sumatra.<sup>7</sup>

It cannot be denied that a great centre of learning like the University of Nālandā exerted tremendous influence on the Buddhist world of the age which was in continuous contact with it. Catholic in spirit the Buddhistic scientific

1. *Record*, p. 11; Finot in *BEFEO*, Vol. XX (1920), p. 146ff.

2. Tāranātha, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in Indien* (Trans. Schiefner, 1867), p. 161. For other views, see H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 68, fn. 3.

3. *Record*, p. 179; For other details, H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

4. Peri, *BEFEO*, Vol. XI, 1911, p. 337; Also cf. B. R. Chatterji, *History of Indonesia*, p. 98.

5. H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

6. *Sanghyang Kamahayānikan* (ed. Kats, 1910), p. 45,

men there readily subjected all creeds to test to their full advantage, and this was precisely the reason which accounted for the swift propagation of the new dogmas preached there. It should be viewed as a natural upshot of the influence of Nālandā. This influence, above all, must have been great on general cultural domain. "The scholars and pilgrims travelling hither and thither, the study of the Buddhists from all lands in that centre, the coming over of those who were there initiated into the doctrines to other regions where Buddhism lived, must have created ample opportunity for diffusing far and wide various kinds of usages and conceptions which governed at Nālandā, also in domains other than religious"<sup>1</sup> Nālandā certainly deserves to be viewed as one of the foremost points in Buddhist lands wherefrom, in the wake of Buddhism, "waves of Hindu-culture also surged out elsewhere, notably towards the Archepelago."<sup>2</sup>

In the early part of the 8th century Śrīvijaya again saw a famous traveller, Vajrabodhi, the South Indian monk who went to China and established a separate Esoteric School of Buddhism in China. He belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family and studied at the Nālandā University as well as in Western India and was famed for his mastery in the *Tripitaka* and Tāntric Buddhism. From South India he started his journey towards Ceylon from where in 717 A. D. he sailed with 35 Persian ships, and his halting point was Śrīvijaya (Palembong) where the king received him with the greatest respect and where he was compelled to stay for five months due to hostile winds.<sup>3</sup> Among his disciples was Amoghavajra, a great name in Tāntric Buddhism of which he fixed the dogma and ensured its triumph.<sup>4</sup>

1. H. B. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

2. Bosch, *op. cit.*, pp. 528-63. Other centres were founded at Samatata and Harikela.

3. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

4. For details see Upendra Thakur, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-90.

Atiśa Dīpaṅkara (11th century A. D.), the celebrated Buddhist monk and scholar of Bengal, who later became chief of the Vikramśīla University and heralded a new era in the history of Buddhism in Tibet, was yet another great preacher who had gone to Indonesia (Sumatra) in the early years of his life to take lessons in Buddhism from Candrakīrti (= Dharmakīrti), the chief monk of Suvarṇabhūmi.<sup>1</sup>

Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna popularly known as Atiśa, constitutes a landmark in the history of Buddhism both in India and Tibet. He was the last great *ācārya* in India who is remembered in Tibetan tradition as the greatest of the teacher-reformers of Tibet, besides being a towering figure in the history of world Buddhism. It was at the age of 31 that Dīpaṅkara went to Suvarṇadvīpa and met Dharmakīrti (or Dharmapāla) and learnt from him for twelve years the practice of *bodhi citta*, *hoṭh prāṇidhāna* and *avatāra*.<sup>2</sup> According to Rūhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana,<sup>3</sup> he started his voyage in A. D. 1012<sup>4</sup> and travelled for fourteen months before reaching Suvarṇadvīpa which at this time was the head-quarter of Buddhism in the East, and its High Priest, Dharmakīrti was considered to be the greatest scholar of his age. He stayed at Suvarṇadvīpa<sup>5</sup> for twelve years "in

1. P. V. Bapat, *op. cit.*, p. 67. From the Tibetan sources we know that his name was Dharmakīrti (*Chos-kyi-grags-pa*), though in the colophon of his work preserved in the *bitan-gyar*, the name occurs as Dharmapāla (A. Chattopadhyaya, *Atiśa and Tibet*, pp. 81-85).

2. A. Chattopadhyaya, *Atiśa and Tibet*, p. 85.

3. *2500 Years of Buddhism*, pp. 202-03. According to Rūhula, his name was Dharmapāla (p. 202).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

5. Suvarṇadvīpa in this case means Śrī-vijaya, the Sailendra kingdom, now modern Indonesia (A. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-9) which in those days comprised a large part of Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula including Sumatra and other Islands.

order to master the pure teachings of Buddha of which the key was possessed by the High Priest alone.”<sup>1</sup>

As noted above, Atiśa started his voyage for Suvarṇadvīpa in A. D. 1012 and reached Sumatra in A. D. 1013. The Tihetan sources repeatedly assert that he spent twelve years in Suvarṇadvīpa under ācārya Dharmakīrti. In other words, he started his return journey to India in A. D. 1025—a date which coincides with that of the fall of the Śailendra empire.

What happened to ācārya Dharmakīrti or to his monastery of Śrīvijaya after the fall of the Śailendras, we do not know. From the *Sum-pa*,<sup>2</sup> we learn that he was living up to the age of 150 in Suvarṇadvīpa when Atiśa was appointed the High Priest of the Vikramaśīla monastery in India. However, the decline in the fortunes of the Śailendras must have affected *guru* Dharmakīrti as the latter is said to have not only received their patronage but also belonged to the royal family of Suvarṇadvīpa.<sup>3</sup> There is unfortunately nothing definite either to corroborate it or to reject it. But, there is no doubt about his stature as a teacher and exponent of Buddhism. It was during his stay with Dharmakīrti that Atiśa became a master of the Mahāyāna philosophy and logic which is clearly evident from the colophons of at least two of the important philosophical works of Dīpaṅkara (Atiśa)—the *Satya-dvaya-avatāra* and the *Bodhicaryā-avatārabhāṣya* which express “direct inspiration to the teachings of Dharmakīrti, and this as the continuer of the tradition of the Mahāyāna philosophy represented by Nāgārjuna, Maitreya-nātha and Candrakīrti”.

Of the six works attributed to Dharmakīrti the first one, i. e. *Abhisamaya-alanṅkāra-nāma-prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-*

1. S. C. Das, *Life of Atiśa* (JBT.S. t. i. 8-9).

2. *Sum-pa-dPag-bsam-tjon-bzan*, ed. S. C. Das (Calcutta, 1908), p. 118.

3. A. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

*śāstra-vṛtti-durbodha-ālokanāma-īkā* appears to be his *magnum opus* which was translated by Ratnabhadra (Rin-che-bzan-po), the greatest of the Tibetan translators under the direct supervision of Dīpaṅkara. It is a stupendous work on Mahāyāna philosophy which is mainly devoted to the clear exposition of the highest *Pāramitā* conceived by the Mahāyānists, namely the *Prajñāpāramitā*. "In bulk the work is about forty times that of Dīpaṅkara's *Bodhi-patha-pradīpa*," This work alone stands out as one of the most outstanding representatives of the Mahāyāna philosophy of the 10th century A. D. And, it was at the feet of this celebrated master in Suvarṇadvīpa that Atiśa acquired great proficiency in Mahāyāna philosophy and logic, before returning to India and joining the Vikramaśīla monastery as its High Priest.<sup>2</sup>

From the *Sum-pa* we further learn that *ācārya* Dharmakīrti had some other notable Indian students (Buddhist monks from India), besides Dīpaṅkara. Kamala or Kamalarakṣita, was yet another illustrious Indian monk who was a student of Dharmakīrti. Though we do not have much account of the life of Kamalarakṣita in the Tibetan sources, nevertheless, he was a significant Buddhist writer which can be judged from the fact that about nine of his works are preserved in the *bsTan-gyur*. It is, however, remarkable to note that the *Sum-pa* does not mention Kamalarakṣita at all in the list of the outstanding students of Dharmakīrti or Dharmapāla: it mentions only four eminent students of gSer-glin-pa (Dharmakīrti) and they were: Śāntirakṣita, Jo-bo, Jñānaśrimitra and Ratnakīrti.<sup>3</sup>

As we know, the Śailendra kings of Śrīvijaya were in

1. *Ibid.* p. 95.

2. Also cf. *Atiśa: A Biography of the renowned Buddhist sage*, trans. from Tibetan Sources by Lama Thubten Kalsang, Bangkok, 1974, pp. 31-43.

3. A. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.* p. 93. Also cf. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, *In 2500 Years of Buddhism*, pp. 202-03.

close touch with the political powers of India and the Buddhist preachers from Bengal exerted great influence on Javanese Buddhism. They were great patrons of Mahāyāna Buddhism and we are told that one of the Śailendra kings had as his *guru* (preceptor) a Buddhist monk from Gauḍa (Bengal). This close contact with Bengal was also responsible for the popularity of the degraded form of Tantric worship in Java and Sumatra.<sup>1</sup>

We meet with the later phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism of India in Java also, such as the adoption of Hindu gods in the Buddhist pantheon; introduction of minor and miscellaneous divinities, some of a terrible appearance; the development of the Tāntric mode of worship and the gradual rapprochement between Mahāyāna and Brāhmaṇical religion. One of the most characteristic features of Javanese religion was the close association between Śiva and Buddha. In modern Balinese theology, the Buddha is regarded as a younger brother of Śiva and there is a close affinity between the two doctrines. A similar Śiva-Buddha cult existed in Java.<sup>2</sup> Similarly Śiva, Viṣṇu and Buddha were all regarded as identical and so were their Śaktis.<sup>3</sup>

We have evidences to show that besides Java and Sumatra, Buddhism was preached and spread by Indian missionaries in also some other islands of Malaysia, particularly Bali and Borneo. But, as Brāhmaṇism was a more vigorous and widely popular religion in those areas Buddhism could not make much stride and disappeared from the scene very soon.<sup>4</sup>

#### VIETNAM :

Vietnam is a long and narrow country with its shape like the letter "S". It is bounded on the west by Cambodia

1. V. P. Bapat, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

2. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 99.

3. R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, p. 99.

4. V. P. Bapat, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

and Laos, and on the north, east and south by the Chinese colossus, Pacific Ocean, the Gulf of Thailand, Burma and the easternmost reaches of India. It has a coastline wandering along a distance of nearly 2,500 kilometres from the Mong-Cay (Gulf of North Vietnam) to the Cambodian border (Gulf of Thailand). It formerly comprised the regions known to early history as Funan and Campā, which lay on the Indochinese Peninsula between India and China, the two great thickly populated and highly civilised countries in Asia which have strongly influenced its politics and culture. The Vietnamese people often contrast the form of their country with that of the "two baskets of rice attached to the two ends of bamboo-pole used by the Vietnamese peasant to carry his load."<sup>1</sup> This comparison is quite apt because the geographical character of Vietnam is dominated by the two fertile rice producing deltas—The Red River Delta in the north and the Mekong Delta in the South—which are joined by the Truong Song range.<sup>2</sup>

The Vietnamese is generally a religious people and "religion dominates him since his birth, guides him to the tomb, and even after his death, keeps him under its influence."<sup>3</sup> In Vietnam we have a variety of religions, and almost all the principal religions of the world are found here such as Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Christianity etc. Besides these, the cult of ancestors originating from the filial piety and that of the gods or deities are also followed by him.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Joseph Buttingor, *The Smaller Dragon, A Political History of Vietnam*, London, 1958, p. 40.
  2. The Vietnam Council of Foreign Relations, *An Introduction to Vietnam*, 4th edn. Saigon, 1970, p. 1.
  3. Leopold Cadiere, *Croyances et Pratiques Religieuses des Vietnamiens*, Tome III, Paris, 1957, p. 69.
  4. For details, see *Ibid.*, Tome II, Saigon, 1955 & Tome III, Paris, 1957. Also see *Vietnamese Realities*, Publ. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Saigon, 1969, Chap. XII, pp. 157-78.

It appears, Buddhism was introduced into what was in those times known as Giao-Chi (New North Vietnam) by the monks who came from India and China by land and sea-routes. We are told that towards the end of the second century A. D., during the reign period of Si-Nhiep or Shiti Hsieh (187-226 A. D.), Giao-Chi was an important Buddhist cultural centre which had grown up parallelly with the affluence of the Indian merchants trading in that area. The influence of Buddhism on the development of Indian navigation in ancient time can well be judged from the fact that the mighty junks of maritime traders always travelled under the protection of the Dīpaṃkara Buddha or "Calmer of the Water"<sup>1</sup> and often brought along with them in their long voyages the monks who served at the same time as priests, physicians as well as sorciers. Moreover, Giao-Chi (modern North Vietnam) served as an important meeting place for the Indian, Chinese and other foreign travellers and missions during third-seventh centuries A. D.<sup>2</sup> It also served as the rest-station for these merchants and Buddhist missionaries of the time, who travelled by sea between India and China, and China and India. Thus, from second century A. D. onward Giao-Chi (Giao-Chau or North Vietnam) came to be a very important centre of contact for the pilgrims and foreign monks coming from India, China and Indo-Scythian empire who studied and propagated Buddhism there. It was in the wake of these hectic missionary activities that several monasteries came to be constructed for the first time during the reign-period of Si-Nhiep to meet their religious requirements. Of these the earliest monasteries were those of Phap Van (or Dau) situated at Khuong Tu village

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1. Sylvain Levi in "Bulletin de l' Association Francaise de Amie de l' Orient", Cct., 1929, pp. 19-39.

2. Paul Pelliot, "Le Fou Nan", in *BEFEO*, Tome III, Hanoi, 1903, pp. 248-303. Also see Sylvain Levi, "Deux Peuples Meconnas," in "Mélanges Charles de Harlez" Paris, 1896, pp. 176-86.



to the Luy Lâu citadel (present-day Hà Bắc province in North Vietnam), of Phuc Nguveo at Mãn Xã village (modern Hà Bắc province) and Phap Vu (vulgarly called monastery of Dau) in the present-day Thuong Tin prefecture, province of Ha Dong (North Vietnam).<sup>1</sup>

We learn on the authority of a Vietnamese source (written in Chinese in the 14th century A. D.)<sup>2</sup> that towards the end of the reign-period of the Chinese emperor Lioh De or Liog-Ti (168-188 A. D.) of the Eastern Han (25-220 A. D.) two Indian Buddhist monks named Ma Ha Ky Vuc (Skt. *Mahājīvaka*) and Khâu Dā La (Skt. *Kṣudra* or *Kaudra*)—a Brāhmaṇa, arrived at the same time in Luy Lau, the capital or Giao-Chi, which was then ruled by the Chinese Commandery-Chief of Sĩ-Nhiếp.<sup>3</sup> It was here that the two monks met a lay disciple (Skt. *Upāsaka*) from Khmer kingdom, named Tu Dinh who requested them to live in this country. But Venerable Mahājīvaka turned down his request whereas Venerable Kṣudra accepted it and came to stay at his residence where he is said to have practised asceticism and observed fasting for days together to purify his body and soul.<sup>4</sup>

From the Chinese source, however, we learn that Mahājīvaka went to Giao-Chau towards the year 294 A. D. and returned to India in about 306 A. D.<sup>5</sup> Yet

1. Cf. Madrolle, *Le Tonkin Ancien; Les Pagodes Voisines de loi Laos* (Luy Lau) in *BEFEO*, Tome XXXVII, Hanoi, 1937, Fascicule 2, pp. 292-93.
2. Cf. *The Histories of Buddha and the Patriarchs: From Phap Van to Co Chau*.
3. Cf. Madrolle, *op. cit.*, p. 292.
4. Trần Văn Giáp, in *Cahiers de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême d'Orient*, Hanoi, No. 22, 1940, pp. 59-60. Also see *BSEI*, Nouvelle Serie, Tome XIII, No. 1, Saigon, 1938.
5. Trần Văn Giáp, *Phật Giáo Việt Nam: Từ Thời Nguyên Đen Thi Ky XIII* (Buddhism in Vietnam: From the Origins to the 13th Century A. D.), translated from French, *Le Bouddhisme en Annam: Des Origines au XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, by Tue Sy, Saigon, 1968, p. 56. Also see *Tu Tuong (The Thoughts)*, Saigon. No. 3, May 1973, p. 146.

another Chinese author, Hui Hao (died 554 A. D.) informs us that this Indian monk came from India to Funan and from there went along the coast and arrived in Giao-Chau and Quảng Chau or Kuāng Chou (present-day Kuangtung province in South-East China).<sup>1</sup> Towards the close of the reign-period of Chinese Emperor Hui Ti (290-306 A. D.) of Western Tsin Dynasty (265-317 A. D.) he is said to have arrived at Lac Duong (in modern Honan province of East Central China). Later he returned to India, and since then nothing is known about him.<sup>2</sup>

The first Chinese Buddhist preacher to reach Giao-Chi, after the two Indian monks, was Mậu Bặc (also known as Mậu Tu or Mou Po), a Taoist by faith followed by one Tibetan monk, Kang-seng-Houci.<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of the reign-period of the Chinese emperor Linh Đế or Ling Ti (168-189 A. D.) there broke out rebellion in China resulting in serious political chaos and crises which compelled Mậu Bặc with his mother and many other Chinese scholars and Taoist monks to leave China in 189 A. D. and settle in Giao-Chi, then considered as a safe and peaceful country under king Sĩ-Nhiếp. It was here that Mậu Bặc studied Buddhist doctrines from the Indian monk, Kṣudra who, after his mother's death, professed Buddhism (194-195 A. D.) along with many other Chinese. Thus, the two Indian monks—Mahāvīra and Kṣudra together with the Chinese Buddhist Mou Po (or Mậu Bặc) and the Tibetan monk were the first promoters of Buddhism in Vietnam towards the close of the second century A. D.<sup>4</sup>

1. Hui Hao, *Cao Tang Truven* (Ch. Kao Seng Ch'uan) or *Biographies of Eminent Monks* (compiled in 519 A. D.); also see S. Dutt, *Buddhism in East Asia*, New Delhi, 1936, p. 104.

2. Nion Cha'ng, *Phat to Lịch Đại Thông Tài* (Ch. Fo Tsu Li Tai Tung Tsai) or *A History of Buddha and the Patriarchs Through the Ages* (compiled). This Chinese writer (Nion Cha'ng) flourished during the Yuan Dynasty (1280-1368 A. D.).

3. S. Dutt, *Buddhism in East Asia*, pp. 104-05.

4. Trần Văn Giáp, "Les Chapitres Bibliographiques de la Qui Den et de Phau Huy Chu" in *BSEF*, Nouvelle Série, Tome III, No. 1, Saigon, 1938, pp. 68-70.

Mou Po (Mâu Bặc) was followed by two other monks namely Khang Taog Hoi (Chinese : K'ang Seng Hui) and Cuong Luog Lau Chi (Skt. Kalyāṇarūci : Chinese; Chiaog Liang Lou Chih) who propagated Buddhism in Giao-Chi (North Vietnam) during third century A. D. Khang Tang Hoi was born in India in c. 181-200 A. D. and came to Giao-Chi<sup>1</sup> with his father who carried on business in that part of Vietnam. But, when he was only ten, his parents died and he entered monastery and devoted himself to the study and practice of Buddhism. In the course of time he not only mastered the Buddhist doctrines but also specialised in other secular subjects such as literature, administration, divination and astronomy, and subsequently came to be revered as a great Buddhist preacher. He is also credited with having translated several Sanskrit Buddhist works into Chinese, but only the *Satpāramita-Saṃgraha-Śūtra* translated by him is now available.

In 247 A. D. he went to China and propagated Buddhism among the people and converted them to this faith. He was thus the first India-born Vietnamese Buddhist monk who spread Buddhism in China. He died in 280 A. D.<sup>2</sup>

The other monk Cuong Luong Lau Chi or Kalyāṇarūci was of Indo-Scythian origin who had spent several years in Giao-Chau.<sup>3</sup> He is said to have worked there on the first translation into Chinese of the Sanskrit Buddhist text *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka-Samādhi-Sūtra* in 255-26 A. D.<sup>4</sup>

1. According to Chou Hsiang Kuang he was born in Giao-Chi (*A History of Chinese Buddhism*, Allahabad, 1955, pp. 28-29.)
2. Cf. Trouong Xuan Binh, *The History of Vietnamese Culture* (MS), p. 94; E. Chavannes, "Seng Houei..." in *T'oung Pao*, Leiden, Vol. IX (1909), pp. 199-212; Chou Hsiang Kuang, *A History of Chinese Buddhism*, Allahabad, 1955, pp. 28-29; S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
3. P. Pelliot, in *T'oung Pao*, Leiden, Vol. XXIII, 1923, pp. 100, 124; Trần Văn Giáp, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
4. P. Pelliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 124; Trần Văn Giáp, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

As noted above, the first Buddhist centre in ancient Vietnam was established at Luy Lau, the then capital (modern Hà Bắc province in North Vietnam) with its famous monastery of Phap Van. Buddhism during this period (2nd-3rd century A. D.) witnessed the predominance of the *Giao Ton* (Skt *Āgama*, Ch, *Chia Tsung*) or "the School of Doctrine", also known as *Thien Thai Tong* or "The lotus school" whose founders were the above mentioned monks — Mou Po (Mâu Bác) and Khaog Taog Hoi.<sup>1</sup>

The coming to power of King Dinh Tien Hoang, the founder of the Dinh dynasty (968-980 A. D.) of Vietnam and a great protector of Buddhism, heralded a new era in the history of Buddhism in Vietnam. The period is remarkable as this king is credited with having created for the first time in 971 A. D. a hierarchy of the Buddhist priests and it was since then that Buddhism came to be recognised by the Royal Court.<sup>2</sup>

In the succeeding period under the Earlier Le dynasty (980-1009 A. D.) Buddhism continued to enjoy favour with and support from the Royal Court. The great Buddhist master, Khuong Viet was highly respected by the emperor Le Dai Haoh who sought his advice before taking important political and military decisions. It was during this period that a Vietnamese mission was sent for the first time in 1007 A. D. to the Chinese court of the Northern Sung dynasty (A. D. 960-1126) by King Le Loog Dinh (A. D. 1005-1009) in order to collect the Three Baskets of Buddhist canon (*Tripitaka*).<sup>3</sup> The famous Buddhist monk living during this

1. Trần Văn Giáp, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Trương Xuan Binh, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
2. Mat The, *A Short History of Vietnamese Buddhism*, 3rd ed. 1960, (Na Trang), 1960, pp. 109. 111-13 (Note-1); Trần Văn Giáp, *Buddhism in Vietnam : From the Origins to the 13th Century A. D.* 1968, p. 122; Thanh Tu, *Meditation-Masters of Vietnam*, Saigon, 1973, pp. 41-44.
3. Trương Xuan Binh, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

time was Zen Master Phap Thuan (914-990 A. D.) who belonged to the tenth generation of the Vinitarūci Meditation School.<sup>1</sup>

As Buddhism became a predominant religion and all the emperors of the Later Ly dynasty (A. D. 1009-1225) were devoted Buddhists, several laws issued during this period were considerably influenced by the compassionate spirit of Buddhism, with the result that almost all the "instruments of torture"<sup>2</sup> were ordered to be destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

The founder of the Later Ly dynasty, king Ly Thai To was brought up since his childhood at monastery, and his enthronization was executed through the support of the Buddhist monks of whom the most important figure was the Meditation Master, Van Hanh. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the rulers of this dynasty were ardent supporters of Buddhism which made this religion quite predominant at court and also among the masses. Infact, Buddhism reached its climax during this period.

From the Vietnamese annals we learn that in 1010 A. D. king Ly Thai To (A. D. 1009-1028) issued order for the construction of eight monasteries at Thion Duc prefecture or modern Hà Bắc province of North Vietnam. At the same time he also ordered to repair all the damaged village Buddhist temples in the country. In 1018 A. D. two envoys Nguyen Deo Thanh and Pham Hae were sent to the Chinese Court of the Northern Sung Emperor Chan Tong (998-1022 A. D.) to collect the Three Baskets of Buddhist Canon (*Tripitaka*) which was re-copied in 1023 A. D. and was then deposited in Dai Hung Library.<sup>4</sup> This was the

1. Nguyen Lang, *Viet Nam Phat Giao Su Luan (A Critical History of Vietnamese Buddhism)*, Saigon, 1974, pp. 144-46.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 144-46.
3. Viet Su Luoc, (*Outline History of the Viet*), (in Chinese) Vol. II, p. 10a.
4. Nguyen Ba Lang, *Kien Truc Giao Viet-Nam (The Buddhist Architecture of Vietnam)*, Vol. (Tap), I, Saigon, 1972, p. 60.

second time that the *Tripitaka* texts were brought to Vietnam (the first time when king Le Long Dinh of the earlier Le dynasty was ruling: A. D. 1005-1009).

In 1031 A. D. emperor Ly Thai Tong (1028-1054 A. D.) ordered to erect 150 monasteries, and in 1034 A. D. Ha Thu and Do Khoan were sent as ambassador to China to receive the *Tripitaka* which was preserved by the Northern Sung Emperor (Jen-Tsung: A. D. 1023-1063) and it was re-copied in A. D. 1036. This was the third time the *Tripitaka* texts were brought to Vietnam from China. In A. D. 1040, a festival of *La Han* (Sk. *Arhata*) or "A worthy One" was celebrated to inaugurate a thousand wooden Buddha-statues and a thousand Buddha paintings as well as ten thousand sacred Buddhist banners.<sup>1</sup>

Again, in A. D. 1055, king Ly Thanh Tong (A. D. 1054-1072) ordered to build the Tinh Lu monastery at Mount Dong Cuu in North Vietnam and in A. D. 1056, the Sung Kharb monastery in modern Hanoi city of North Vietnam, with its large bell. In A. D. 1063 he decreed a monastery to be erected at Mount Ba Son in North Vietnam in order to pray for a son.<sup>2</sup> Again in 1081 A. D. Emperor Ly Nhat Tong (A. D. 1077-1127) sent a monk to the Northern Sung Emperor, Than Teng (Shen Tsung) to bring the Buddhist canon; and in A. D. 1086 he ordered the Dai Lam Son monastery to be built up at Lam Son village (in the modern Ha Bac province of North Vietnam). And, in A. D. 1118 the palace (Thien Phat) which housed a thousand Buddha statues was inaugurated as Thang Nghiem Thanh Tho monastery in the south of Hanoi in North Vietnam.<sup>3</sup>

It was during the reign-period of emperor Ly Thanh Tong (A. D. 1054-1072) that a Chinese Meditation-Master

1. Truong Xuan Binh. *op. cit.*, p. 149.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 149

3. For other details see, *Ibid.*, pp. 148-49.

Thao Duong arrived in ancient Vietnam from Campā. His arrival at that time marked an important event in the history of Vietnamese Buddhism. He possessed innate gift of learning Buddhist "way" and was able to understand thoroughly the numerous Buddhist texts. He was conferred the title of *Quoc Su* (Master of Kingdom) by the Ly emperors, and died while in meditation in the Lotus posture.<sup>1</sup>

He is traditionally regarded as the founder of the Third Meditation School of Vietnamese Buddhism during his stay at Khai Quoc monastery in Thang Long (now Hanoi) capital and soon after he was awarded the title of 'Master of the Kingdom'. This new sect is said to have lasted from A. D. 1089 to A. D. 1205 and was transmitted to five generations including 19 members both laymen and monks among whom many members belonged to the Royal family.<sup>2</sup>

Besides this, there was a large number of Vietnamese Meditation—Masters living during the reign-period of the Later Ly dynasty of whom the following deserve special mention :

(i) Zen Master Van Hanh<sup>3</sup> who belonged to the 12th generation of the Vinītarūci Meditation School and wrote some books on Buddhist philosophy.

(ii) Dinh Huong<sup>4</sup> who belonged to the sixth generation of the Vo Ngon Thong Meditation-School and was the wisest disciple of Zen Master Da Bao of this school.

(iii) Hue Sinh<sup>5</sup>, who belonged to the 13th generation of the Vinītarūci Meditation School, was highly regarded for his

1. *An Nam Che Nguyen* (Outline of the History of Annam), in Chinese, Vol. III, p. 209, cited by Trần Văn Giap, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

2. For details see Trần Văn Giap, *op. cit.*, Chapt. VI, pp. 137-141 and 143. (Chart 3 : The Meditation-School of Thao Duong 1096-1205, A. D.)

3. For details see *Ibid.*, Chap. IV, pp. 107 & 115 (Note 13).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

superb eloquence and literary ability and was called "Flesh Buddha" by the people of the time because of his unusual meditation lasting from five to seven days. He was also conferred the title of *Tang Thong* (Head of the Sangha) by emperor Ly Thanh Tong (A. D. 1054-1072);

(iv) Vien Chieu (A. D. 999-1090)<sup>1</sup>, who was famous for his practice of the "Three Methods of Contemplation" as well as his study of *The Sūtra of Complete Enlightenment* is credited with having composed four important Buddhist works in Chinese<sup>2</sup>, which explain and comment on the Buddhist scriptures (*sūtras*) and were published for the first time in ancient Vietnam.

(v) Man Giac (A. D. 1052-1096)<sup>3</sup>, who knew well both Buddhism and Confucianism, was so widely respected by the people that after his death his bones were collected and placed in a *stūpa* (pagoda) which was built at Sung Nham monastery in the An Cach village (North Vietnam) for the worship of the people. He wrote only a small verse, entitled *The Chung (To Everybody)* in Chinese in which he speaks of the illusion and changing of all things in the universe. They are like the flowers which fall when spring goes and which bloom when spring comes. So is the life of man. He is absorbed in seeing the current things which pass before him and does not know that he himself has now become old. However, we should not think that after spring, all the flowers are completely faded. Those who know how to follow the right path of Buddhism, practise in their life the Buddha's teachings and attain enlightenment, can liberate themselves from the changing and impermanent laws of the Universe and from the constant round of death and re-birth.

(vi) Khaoh Hy (A. D. 1066-1152)<sup>4</sup> belonged to the 14th generation of Vinītarūci Meditation School. He was

1. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

2. For details see, Tneong Xuan Binh, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-60.

3. For details see Tran Van Giah, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 109 & 117.



highly respected by emperor Ly Anh Tong (A. D. 1138-1175) who conferred on him the title of *Tong Luc* (Vice-Principal of the Religious Affairs at Court) and *Tang Thong* (Head of the Saṃgha). He composed a book, entitled, *Collected Poems and Songs on the Awakening of the Truth*<sup>1</sup> which is still very popular in Vietnam.

(vii) Vien Thong (A. D. 1080-1151)<sup>2</sup> belonged to the 18th generation of the Vinītarūci Meditation-School and was given the title of *Quoc Su* (Master of the Kingdom) in A. D. 1143 by Emperor Ly Nhan Tong in recognition of his vast learning and scholarship. He is credited with having composed three works which deal with the origins of the Buddha and Buddhist doctrines, mostly in verses.<sup>3</sup>

(viii) Thoung Chieu (A. D. 1203) who belonged to the 12th generation of the Vo Ngon Thong Meditation School. He received *Dharma* from the Zen-Master Quang Nghiem. Later he retired to an ancient monastery where he devoted himself to teaching and propagating Buddhist doctrine among the masses and converted a large number of people to Buddhism.<sup>4</sup> After his death, his body was cremated and his relics were placed in a *Stūpa* (pagoda) for worship by his disciples. He wrote two books in Chinese: (i) *A Chronological Description of the Northern School*, now lost and (ii) *The Classical Instructions of Buddhist Religion*.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, the Early Ly Dynasty (544-602 A. D.) witnessed great Buddhistic activities in North Vietnam with the arrival of the first Indian meditation master—Venerable Ti Ni Da

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1. Trần Văn Giáp, "Les Chapitres Bibliographiques" in *BSEI*, *op. cit.*, p. 60, No. 34.

2. Trần Văn Giáp (trans. from French, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

3. Trần Văn Giáp, "Les Chapitres..." in *BSEI*, Tome XIII, No. 1, Saigon, 1938, p. 90, No. 95, p. 94, No. 104, etc.

4. Trần Văn Giáp, (trans. from French), *op. cit.*, p. 131.

5. Trần Văn Giáp, "Les Chapitres bibliographiques..." in *BSEI*, (1938) Tome XIII, No. 1 (p. 96, No. 109).

Luu Chi (Skt. Vinītarūci : Ch Wei Ni To Liu Chih)<sup>1</sup>, the most illustrious name in the history of Vietnamese Buddhism. A Brāhmaṇa from South India (according to some, a native of Ujjain in North India)<sup>2</sup> Vinītarūci is said to have travelled widely in Western India to study Buddhism. He then went to Truong An or Chang An (in North-Central China) in 574 A. D. but as Buddhism was being persecuted by the Chinese Emperor Vo De or Wu-Ti (561-577 A. D.) of the Bac Chu (Pei Chou) or Northern Chou dynasty (557-581 A. D.) at that time,<sup>3</sup> he was forced to proceed southward to the territory of Yeh or Nghiep (in modern Honan province of East-Central China) where he met venerable Tang Xan or Seng-Tsan, the third patriarch of Chau (Meditation) School of Chinese Buddhism who accepted his disciple.<sup>4</sup> After receiving *Dharma* from his patriarch he went to Southern China on the advice of his teacher to avoid persecution. He resided at the Che Chi monastery (in modern Kwang-tung province) where he translated many Sanskrit books relating to Buddhism into Chinese. In 580 A. D. (six years later) he went to North Vietnam (Giao-Chau) where he stayed in Pháp Van monastery, noted earlier, and translated the original work *Mahāyāna Vaipulyadharani Sūtra* into Chinese, known as *Tai Fang Kuang Tsung Chip Ching*. After having transmitted his doctrine (*Dharma*) which he had received from his Chinese patriarch<sup>5</sup> to his

1. Trần Văn Giáp, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-03; Chou Hsiang Kuang, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Howard J. Sosis, *Introductory Notes...*, in *Zen Notes*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 7-8, July-Aug. 1967, New York, p. 3.
2. Chou Hsiang Kuang, *op. cit.*, p. 111; Truong Xuan Binh, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
3. According to Chou Hsiang Kuang, Vinītarūci came to India in 582 A. D. during the reign-period of the Sui (Tui) dynasty (581-618 A. D.).
4. For details about this Chinese patriarch see D. T. Suzuki, in *Essays on Zen Buddhism* (First Series), London, 2nd Impression, 1958, pp. 195-231.
5. Vinītarūci belonged to the Chinese Ch'an School of Buddhism founded in China by the great Indian preacher Bodhidharma.

disciple, Phap Hien who is regarded as its first patriarch in Vietnam, he died in 504 A. D.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Vinītarūci is traditionally regarded as the founder of the First Zen (Meditation) Sect of Vietnamese Buddhism<sup>2</sup>, which was known as *Meditation School of Vinītarūci*. It was transmitted to nineteen generations including thirtyone Zen masters<sup>3</sup>, the most eminent among them being. Phap Thuan, Van Hanh, Huo Sinh and Vien Thong<sup>4</sup>, all of whom flourished during 7th-12th centuries A. D. This school is prevalent to this day mostly in North Vietnam.<sup>5</sup>

As noted above, another great Zen Master belonging to the fourteenth generation of Vinītarūci-Meditation School was Khanh Hy (1066-1142 A. D.)<sup>6</sup> who is said to have been the son of a Brāhmaṇa (Sn. Vn. Ba La Mon). He belonged to Co Giao village (modern Co-Dieu village) in the Thanh Tri sub-prefecture in the Ho-Dong province of North Vietnam. A vegetarian since childhood he was highly respected and greatly admired for his deep knowledge of scriptures both by the king and the commoners. He is credited with having composed the *Collected Poems and Songs on the Awakening of the Truth* (Vn. *Ngo Dao Thi Ca Tap*-Volume I) which is popularly known in Vietnam. Unfortunately, only one poem of this popular work is now available in Vietnam.<sup>7</sup> He died at the age of 72 in 1142 A.D. The lineage of this Zen Master is quite interesting as it indirectly suggests how deep rooted the institution of caste-structure had become in Vietnam which was introduced

1. For details about the Zen Master Phap Hien, see Tran Van Giap, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 43, 102; Truong Xuang Binh, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

3. Tran Van Giap., *op. cit.*, pp. 104-13, 118.

4. *Ibid.*, also cf. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

5. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

6. For details see Tran Van Giap, *Les Chapitres Bibliographiques de la Qui Den et de Phau Huy Chu*, in *BSEI*, Nouvelle Serie, Tome XIII, No. 1, Saigon, 1938, pp. 109 & 177. (Note 26).

7. Tran Van Giap, *op. cit.*, p. 60, No. 34.

there by the Indian settlers whose historicity in South-East Asia goes as far back as second century A. D., if not earlier.

It is most likely that other Indian monks broke their long and arduous journey at some Vietnamese port, during the periods of T'ang and Suog in China, before proceeding to their destination, and their teachings spread among the common people of the land. They were exponents not of Chinese, but of Indian Buddhism—Mahāyānist and Sarvāstivāda.

The history of the spread and growth of Buddhism in Vietnam, like many other countries of Asia, has two distinct phases. In the first, it was the Indian Buddhist monks who, braving the hazards of long and strenuous journey by land and sea, reached Vietnam and succeeded tremendously in implanting this great religion in that country—a thrilling story of untold adventure, indomitable zeal and courage and unrivalled religious devotion and determination which we have attempted to narrate in brief in the preceding pages. The second phase unfolds the story of the same zeal and devotion on the part of the Vietnamese Buddhist monks who travelled through thick forests, hostile lands and violent seas to reach India to pay homage to the great founder of their religion.

As we have noted earlier, Giao-Chau or Aonam (North Vietnam) served as a meeting place of the various Buddhist missions and pilgrims going to and coming from China and India.<sup>2</sup> I-Tsing (Nghia Tinh : 634 A. D.—713 A. D.) informs

1. Tran Van Giap, *op. cit.*, p. 60, No. 34.
2. For details see I-Tsing, *Ta Tang Hsi Yu Chiu Fa Kao Seng Chuan* (*Biographies of Eminent Monks of the Tang Dynasty who went in search of Dharma in the Western country*), in *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo* ("The Canon of Buddhist writings published in the Taisho Era"), in 100 volumes published in Tokyo, 1924-34 (Taisho, Vol. 51, p. 30). Also see Howard J. Sosis, *Introductory Notes on...*, in *Zen Notes*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 6, 7-8, July-Aug., 1957, New York, pp. 11-2 (fn. 1, 6 & 20.).

us that during the reign-period of the Tang, six Vietnamese pilgrims of Annam travelled along with Indian and Chinese pilgrims through South Seas and reached Ceylon and India<sup>1</sup>, besides a host of eminent Vietnamese monks who are known to us through the poems which were addressed to them by the brilliant poets of the T'ang. Those monks greatly contributed not only to the development of Buddhism in Anam, but also to the propagation of the doctrine abroad. Some of them are reported to have been invited by the Chinese emperors to come to China in order to expound Buddhist scriptures in the T'ang Imperial Palace.<sup>2</sup>

A native of Goa-Chau, Ven. Van Ky possessed good knowledge of Sanskrit and travelled widely along with Chinese Meditation Master Dam Khuco. He took higher ordination (*Upasampadā*) with Ven. Tri Hieu (Sk. *Jñāna-bhadra*) at Java (Island of Southern Sumatra in Indochina). In Giao-Chau he preached Buddhism to the monks as well as the laymen. Later he returned to secular life and resided in That Li Phat Tho or Śrīvijaya (modern Palembang seaport in south-eastern Sumatra of Indochina). I-Tsing says that Venerable Van Ky was still alive when he visited India and, according to Ven. Thich Mat The, he died at the age of thirty.<sup>3</sup> Beyond this we have no other information about his activities in India.

Zen Master Ven. Dam Nhaun (Ch. Tao Jun), a native of La Yang (modern Honan province of East Central China), had deep knowledge of the Buddhist rules (*Vinaya*) and is said to have spent several months in Giao-Chi. Later he also embarked southwards with the sole intention of

1. I-Tsing, *Memoire Composee a l'epoque des Tang sur les religieux eminent qui allerent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident* (Translated from Chinese by Chavannes), Paris, 1894; P. V. Bapat, "Chinese Travellers," in *2500 Years of Buddhism*, 2nd Reprint, 1964, Delhi, pp. 241-43; Chou Hsiang Kuang, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17.

2. See Truong Xuan Binh, *op. cit.*

coming to India but on reaching Java he fell ill suddenly and died at the age of 30.<sup>2</sup>

Ven. Giai Thoat Thien or Mokṣadeva was a native of Giao-Chau who had travelled extensively by boat in Southern Seas and visited several countries. He then went to India and visited Bodhgaya (Bihar State) and many other holy Buddhist places there. He died at a very early age of 25.<sup>3</sup>

Ven Khuy Hung, popularly known as Citradeva (Vn. Chat Dat La De Ba<sup>4</sup>), was an inhabitant of Giao-Chau and was the disciple of Chinese Meditation-Master Minh Vien (Ch. Ming Yuan)<sup>5</sup>. This Chinese Zen Master, whose Sanskrit name was Chintadeva (Sn. Ven. Chan Da De Ba) had studied and practised Buddhism since his childhood and had deep knowledge of all the Buddhist sacred canons. But, as Buddhism was then scorned and forbidden in China, he felt sad and went to Giao-Chau. From there he travelled to Java, Ceylon, and India where he visited the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgaya. And, while thus travelling he died but the actual date of his death is not known.<sup>6</sup>

Ven. Khuy Hung is said to have been endowed with great intelligence and he possessed thorough knowledge of all the Buddhist texts. He travelled widely with his great teacher (Ven. Minh Vien) by boat in the Southern Seas, then landed at Ceylon and from there came to western and central India where he visited Bodhgaya and worshipped the Bodhi-tree (*Pipala* tree). Then he proceeded to Rājagṛha

1. Trần Văn Giáp, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

2. Trần Văn Giáp, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-8; *Revue Indochinoise*, Hanoi, No. 36, pp. 77-8.

3. *Revue Indochinoise*, Hanoi, No. 27, p. 65.

4. *Revue Indochinoise*, No. 28, p. 63; Also cf. Trần Văn Giáp, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

5. *Revue Indochinoise*, No. 28, pp. 65-6; Trần Văn Giáp, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

6. *Ibid.*, No. 29, p. 66.

(Vuong Xa Thnh : modern Rajgir in Patna district) where he suddenly fell ill and died at the famous Venuvvna (Vn. Truc Lam) or "Bamboo-grove" at the age of 30 only.<sup>1</sup>

Ven. Hue Diem, a native of Giao-Chau was the disciple of the Chinese Meditation-Master Vo-Hanh (Ch. Wu-Hsing). He is also said to have travelled to Ceylon and India with his teacher Vo-Hanh but we do not know any thing about the year of his death. I-Tsing also does not enlighten us on this point.<sup>2</sup> We have, however, some information about Ven. Vo-Hanh whose Sanskrit name was Prajñādeva (Vn. Bat Nha De Ba). He came from the province of Kinh-Chau or Ching Chou (modern Ho Bac province of north-eastern China). After having extensively travelled in China, he is reported to have retired to a deep cave to devote himself to reciting the *Saddharma Puṇḍarika Sūtra* or "*The Lotus Scripture*". Then he went to Giao-Chau and after having stayed there for a year went to the kingdom of Śrīvijaya (now Palembang in Indonesia). Later he went to India and met I-Tsing at the great university of Nālandā and from there both of them proceeded to the East. At that time he was about 50 years old and died at the age of 56.<sup>3</sup>

The fifth Vietnamese monk who is said to have visited India was Ven. Tri Hanh, who also bore the Sanskrit name of Prajñādeva, like the Chinese Meditation-Master Vo-Hanh. He was an inhabitant of Ghau Ai (modern Thanh Hoa province of north-central Vietnam). He reached Central India after crossing the sea and visited many holy Buddhist places. After that he is said to have come to stay at a monastery named Tin Gia in the north of the Gaṅgā where he passed away at the age of 50. Unfortunately, however, we are not in a position to identify the actual location of this monastery nor can we determine the Indian variant of its Vietnamese name in the present state of our knowledge.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

3. *Ibid.*, No. 62, pp. 138-57; Trần Văn Giáp, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

The last Vietnamese monk to have visited India was the Meditation-Master Dai Thang Dang whose Sanskrit name was Mahāyāna-Pradīpa (Vn. Ma Ha Gia Na Bat Diap Ba).<sup>1</sup> He was originally an inhabitant of Chau Ai, and became a Buddhist monk at Dvāravatī (Dvārakā in Gujarat, India).<sup>2</sup> He came to the Chinese capital Truong An or Chang An (in present-day north-central China) in the company of Diem Tu, a Chinese envoy, where he received higher ordination (*Upasampatti*) from the great Master Hiuén Tsang or Yuang Chwang at the Tu An Monastery. He had studied almost all the Buddhist texts during his stay at China.<sup>3</sup>

After some time he returned to Giao-Chau, and then crossed the Southern Sea and reached Ceylon. From this place he proceeded to Southern and Eastern India and stayed at Tāmralipti (Modern Tamruk in Midnapore district, West Bengal) for twelve years where he studied Sanskrit and mastered it fully. Moreover, it was here that he translated several Sanskrit Buddhist works including the *Nidāna Śāstra* (Ch. *Yuan Shang Lun*; Vn. *Duyen Sinh Luan*) or *The Treaties of Primary Cause* into Chinese. He met I-Tsing later and accompanied him to Central India. They first visited the Nālandā monastery at Nālandā, the *Vajrāsana* (or the Mahābuddhi monastery) at Bndh-Gayā (Gaya district), and proceeded to Pho Xa Li or Vaiśālī (now a district in Bihar), the most ancient seat of republic in India, graced on many occasions by Lord Buddha. He then went to Cau Thi Na Quec or Kuśīnagara (Modern Kāsi in Gorakhpur district of Uttar Pradesh) and visited almost

1. *Revue Indochinoise*, No. 32, pp. 68-73; Trần Văn Giáp, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-84.
2. For the identification of Dvāravatī, see N. L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 3rd Edn. 1971, Delhi, p. 58.
3. For details, see Chou Hsiang Kuang, *op. cit.*, p. 116; P. V. Bapat, in *2500 Years of Buddhism*, pp. 231-41.



all the holy Buddhist places in India along with the Chinese Meditation-Master Vo Nanh or Wu-Hsing. It was at the monastery of Pariśrāvā (Vn. Bat Niet Ban) in Kuśinagara that he passed away at the age of 60.<sup>1</sup>

From the above survey it would appear that during this period there were many eminent Buddhist Vietnamese monks who are known to us through the poems which were addressed to them by the brilliant poets of the T'ang.<sup>2</sup> These monks mostly travelled to India to visit the Buddhist holy places and greatly contributed not only to the development of Buddhism in Aocham (i. e. North Vietnam) but also to the propagation of the doctrine abroad. Some of them were so reputed as to be invited by the Chinese Emperors to come to China to expound Buddhist scriptures to the T'ang Imperial palace.

But the most remarkable feature about Vietnamese Buddhism is that while Buddhism attracted kings in other countries of South-East Asia, who "endowed it with royal munificence and aided its growth and propagation as a system of culture approved by the State"<sup>3</sup>, in Vietnam the State of things was quite different. It never clung to any canon nor evolved one of its own.<sup>4</sup>

The impact of Buddhism in Vietnam was so great that it influenced almost all the walks of Vietnamese life. Even the Vietnamese music was not immune from this all-pervading influence. We have an interesting account in Vietnamese annals as to how an Indian Buddhist monk along a hundred Cham royal dancers and musicians was brought to Vietnam as war-prisoners by emperor Lê Đại Hành after the defeat of Champa. Cham music during this period was very much influenced by Indian music, and for this the

1. Also cf. G. Goedes, *The Indianised States of South-East Asia* (Trans. Susan Brown Cowling), Honolulu, 1968, p. 29.
2. Truong Xuan Binh, *op. cit.*, p. 120.
3. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

Indian Buddhist monk who had come to Campā to spread religion were solely responsible.<sup>1</sup> This was the period (10th cent. A. D.) when the Vietnamese music and dance are said to have taken a concrete shape.

It is interesting to note that of the eight musical instruments used by the Vietnamese musicians in the official and religious ceremonies, at least six are of Indian origin: for instance, the *Ovoid*, Lute or Ty Ba (Sino-Vn) or *P'ip'a* (Chinese) or *Biwa* (Japanese)—a four-string pear-shaped lute (*Vīṇā*) used in the Bombay region in the 7th century A. D.; the *Ho Cam*, the three-stringed lute;<sup>2</sup> the *Ong Sao*, the traverse flute;<sup>3</sup> the *Ong Tieu* or *Siao*, the straight flute;<sup>4</sup> the *Prāch* (Vn) or the *P'o* (Chinese), the wooden costanets, resembling the one which we come across between the hands of an Indian musician on a painting in a cave at Bagh<sup>5</sup> in Madhya Pradesh; and the *Sand-Class shaped Drum* resembling the Indian *Ḍamarū*.

Most of these instruments were carried first to China or Java and then to Vietnam by the visiting Indian monks and laymen and they are popular even now in those countries. Of the many factors, leading to the intercourse between these two countries the most effective was music which easily won the hearts of the people and established close rapport between the two distant cultures.

Moreover, the two countries which contributed most to the propagation and spread of Buddhism in Vietnam were China and India. A close study of Buddhism in Vietnam

1. Albert Lavignac, *Encyclopædia de la musique*, p. 3112; Claude Marcel Dubois, *Les Instruments de Musique de l'Inde Ancienne* (*The Musical Instruments of Ancient India*), Paris, 1941, pp. 89, 205.
2. Truong Xuan Binh, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

would unmistakably point to its two distinct forms—(i) The Religion of the North and (ii) the Religion of the South.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese provenance can be explained by the fact that the two countries had close political and cultural contacts for a thousand years through migrations of Chinese Buddhists into North Vietnam in early Christian centuries and also the easy access from China to the Red River Valley which constituted the original Vietnamese Colony.<sup>2</sup> But, India being far off, there were few contacts between the two countries. It has been rightly pointed out that “early Vietnamese contacts with India were in part commercial and in part religious because of Buddhist pilgrims’ journeys in both directions. Sea-borne missions from India stopped in Vietnam enroute to China proper, and Vietnamese pilgrims subsequently obtained copies of the sacred Buddhist texts from cultural centres in South Sumatra. But, for various reasons Chinese culture took precedence over Indian in Vietnam.”<sup>3</sup>

Under the Ly kings, Hanoi, besides becoming the capital of Vietnam, rose to be an important Buddhist centre, and near it was a seaport for voyages from India and back which was used by the Buddhist monks from India on the sea-way to China during T’ang—Sung dynasties of China. At some places in Vietnam there were probably small Indian settlements of mercantile origin.<sup>4</sup> It is true, in the history of Vietnamese Buddhism no Indian names stand out except Mañjūvāka, Kalyāṇaśrī (Kalyāṇarūci) and Vinītarūci,<sup>5</sup> but it is also equally true that Indian influence is traceable in the art, culture and religion of its people. And, “thanks to Chinese monks, and especially to Indian monks, Budd-

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

2. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

3. John F. Cady, *South-East Asia : Its Historical Development*, New York, 1964, p. 17.

4. S. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 110.



Fig. No. 1  
Brahmā (12th A. D.), Java.



Fig. No. 2  
Bot Brahm (Brāhmaṇical Temple).  
Located at Bangkok, Thailand.



Fig. No. 3  
The shining Hall of Bot Brahm  
(Brāhmaṇical Temple), Bangkok.

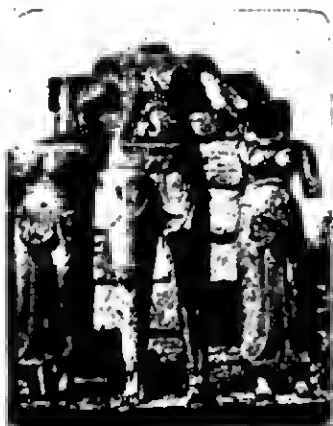


Fig. No. 4  
Group figure showing Umā, Śiva  
and goddess Gaṅgā at Prasat  
Bakong. Prah Ko. Cambodia.



Fig. No. 5  
Angkor Thom.  
(857-907 A. D.),  
Cambodia.

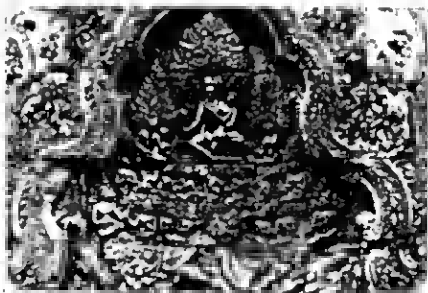


Fig. No. 6  
A lintel of Prasat  
Banteay Sarei, showing  
Ravana raising  
Kailasa. Cambodia.

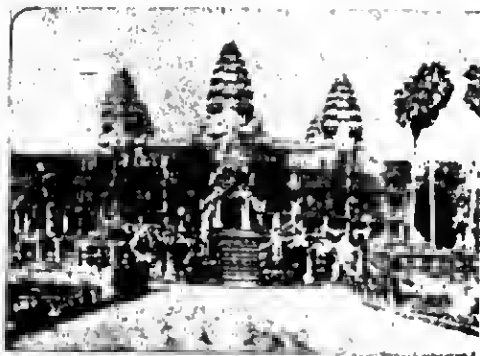


Fig. No. 7  
General view of  
Angkor Wat.  
Cambodia



Fig. No. 8

Bas-relief. Angkor Vat Style (1007-1157 A. D.). Cambodia.



Fig. No. 9

Ganeśa. Angkor Vat Style.  
(1007-1157 A. D.) Cambodia.



Fig. No. 10

Bas-relief. Angkor Vat Style. (1007-  
1157 A. D.). Cambodia. Churning  
of the Ocean (*Samudramanthana*)

hism has gradually spread over the country—yet, with no organisation”. Though eighty per cent of the people in Vietnam are Buddhist, the *Saṃgha* (monk fraternity) is not as organised as in other parts of South-East Asia.

Thus, the voyage of Buddhist missions to South-East Asian countries and to China gives us valuable evidence of the historical development of Buddhism in those countries. Further, it also provides with specific instance of cultural relations of these countries between India on the one hand and China on the other.



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